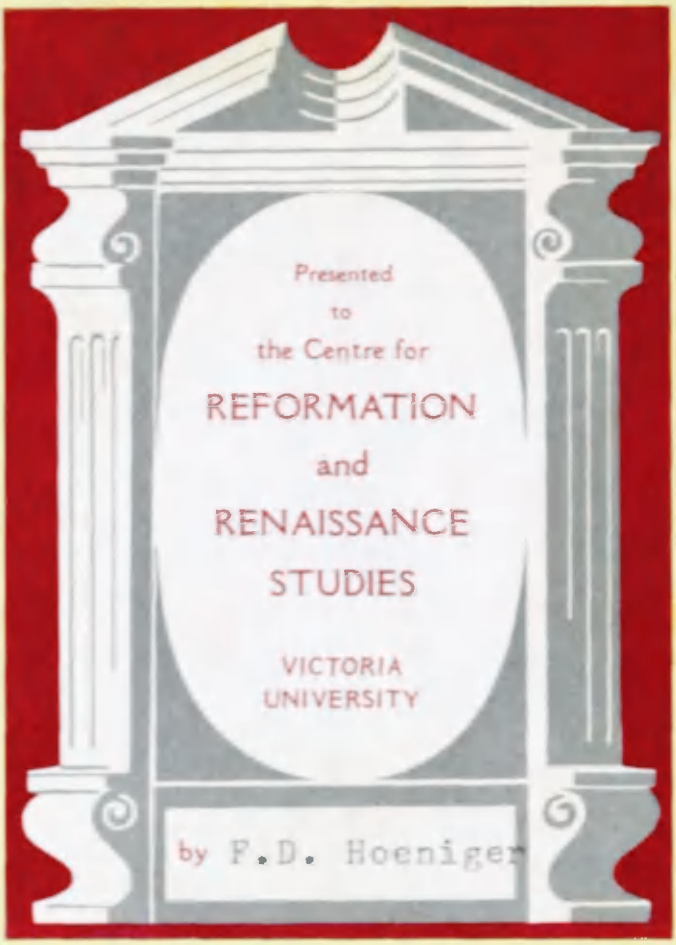
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THE

PLAYS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

CONTAINING

PROLEGOMENA, &c.

LONDON:

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1813.

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AN

ESSAY

ON

THE LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE.

BY

RICHARD FARMER, D.D.

MASTER OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THAT UNIVERSITY.

☞ Though our commentaries on the following Plays have been enriched by numerous extracts from this celebrated Essay, the whole of it is here reprinted. I shall hazard no contradiction relative to the value of its contents, when I add—

——*prosunt singula, juncta juvant.* STEEVENS.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION,

1767.

THE author of the following ESSAY was solicitous only for the honour of *Shakspeare:* he hath however, in *his own* capacity, little reason to complain of *occasional* criticks, or criticks *by profession.* The very FEW, who have been pleased to controvert any part of his doctrine, have favoured him with better manners, than arguments; and claim his thanks for a further opportunity of demonstrating the futility of *theoretick* reasoning against *matter of fact.* It is indeed strange, that any *real* friends of our immortal POET should be still willing to force him into a situation, which is not tenable: treat him as a *learned* man, and what shall excuse the most gross violations of history, chronology, and geography?

Οὐ πείσεις, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃς, is the motto of every *polemick:* like his brethren at the *amphitheatre*, he holds it a merit to *die hard;* and will not say, *enough*, though the battle be decided. "Were it shown, (says some one) that the old bard borrowed *all* his allusions from *English* books then published, our *Essayist* might have possibly established his system."—In good time!——This had scarcely been at-

tempted by *Peter Burman* himself, with the library of *Shakspeare* before him——" Truly, (as Mr. *Dogberry* says,) for *mine own* part, if I were as tedious as a king, I could find in my heart to bestow it all on this subject:" but where should I meet with a reader?—When the main pillars are taken away, the whole building falls in course: Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not easily removed; or rather which was not *virtually* removed before: a very little *analogy* will do the business. I shall therefore have no occasion to trouble myself any further; and may venture to call my pamphlet, in the words of a pleasant declaimer against *sermons on the thirtieth of January*, " an answer to every thing that shall hereafter be written on the subject."

But " this method of reasoning will prove any one ignorant of the languages, who hath written when translations were extant."——*Shade* of *Burgersdicius!*—does it follow, because *Shakspeare's* early life was incompatible with a course of education—whose contemporaries, friends and foes, nay, and himself likewise, agree in his want of what is usually called *literature*—whose mistakes from equivocal translations, and even typographical errors, cannot possibly be accounted for otherwise,—that *Locke*, to whom not one of these circumstances is applicable, understood no *Greek?*—I suspect, *Rollin's* opinion of our philosopher was not founded on this argument.

Shakspeare wanted not the stilts of languages to raise him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, strongly proves the extent of his reading: had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneously from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the

language of the *Water-poet*, "got only from *possum* to *posset*," and yet will throw out a line occasionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety.——If, however, the old editions be trusted in this passage, our author's memory somewhat failed him in point of *concord*.

The rage of *parallelisms* is almost over, and in truth nothing can be more absurd. "This was stolen from *one* classick,—That from *another*;"—and had I not stept in to his rescue, poor *Shakspeare* had been stript as naked of ornament, as when he first *held horses* at the door of the playhouse.

The late ingenious and modest Mr. *Dodsley* declared himself

"Untutor'd in the lore of *Greece* or *Rome*."

yet let us take a passage at a venture from any of his performances, and a thousand to one, it is stolen. Suppose it to be his celebrated compliment to the *ladies*, in one of his earliest pieces, *The Toy-shop*: "A good wife makes the cares of the world sit easy, and adds a sweetness to its pleasures; she is a man's best companion in prosperity, and his only friend in adversity; the carefullest preserver of his health, and the kindest attendant on his sickness; a faithful adviser in distress, a comforter in affliction, and a prudent manager in all his domestick affairs." *Plainly*, from a fragment of *Euripides* preserved by *Stobæus*:

"Γυνὴ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι καὶ νόσοις πόσει
"Ηδιστον ἔστι, σῶμα τ' ἢν οἰκῇ καλῶς,
"Ὀργήν τε φρονοῦσα, καὶ δυσθυμίας
"Ψυχὴν μεθίστασ'!"——*Par.* 4to. 1623.

Malvolio in the *Twelfth-Night* of Shakspeare hath

some expressions very similar to *Alnaschar* in the *Arabian Tales:* which perhaps may be sufficient for *some* criticks to prove his acquaintance with *Arabic!*

It seems, however, at last, that "*Taste* should determine the matter." This, as Bardolph expresses it, is a *word of exceeding good command:* but I am willing, that the standard itself be somewhat better ascertained before it be opposed to demonstrative evidence.——Upon the whole, I may consider myself as the *pioneer* of the *commentators:* I have removed a deal of *learned rubbish*, and pointed out to them *Shakspeare's* track in the ever-pleasing *paths of nature.* This was necessarily a previous inquiry; and I hope I may assume with some confidence, what one of the first criticks of the age was pleased to declare on reading the former edition, that "The question is *now* for ever decided."

*** I may just remark, lest they be mistaken for *Errata*, that the word *Catherine* in the 47th page is written, according to the old Orthography for *Catharine;* and that the passage in the 50th page is copied from *Upton*, who improperly calls *Horatio* and *Marcellus* in *Hamlet*, "the *Centinels.*"

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO

THE THIRD EDITION, 1789.

IT may be necessary to apologize for the republication of this pamphlet. The fact is, it has been for a good while extremely scarce, and some mercenary publishers were induced by the extravagant price, which it has occasionally borne, to project a new edition without the consent of the author.

A few corrections might probably be made, and many additional proofs of the argument have necessarily occurred in more than twenty years: some of which may be found in the late admirable editions of our POET, by Mr. *Steevens* and Mr. *Reed*.

But, perhaps enough is already said on so light a subject:—A subject, however, which had for a long time pretty warmly divided the criticks upon *Shakspeare*.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE:

ADDRESSED TO

JOSEPH CRADOCK, ESQ.

"SHAKSPEARE," says a brother of the *craft*,[1] "is a vast garden of criticism:" and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

But how often, my dear sir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiscriminately?—the ravaged spot is replanted in a moment, and a profusion of critical thorns thrown over it for security.

"A prudent man, therefore, would not venture his fingers amongst them."

Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himself sufficiently to be cautious:—yet he asserts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilst the natural soil is mistaken for a hot-bed, and the natives of the banks of *Avon* are scientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.

[1] Mr. Seward, in his Preface to *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 10 Vols. 8vo. 1750.

Thus much for metaphor; it is contrary to the *statute* to fly out so early; but who can tell, whether it may not be demonstrated by some critick or other, that a deviation from rule is peculiarly happy in an Essay on Shakspeare!

You have long known my opinion concerning the literary acquisitions of our immortal dramatist; and remember how I congratulated myself on my coincidence with the last and best of his editors. I told you, however, that his *small Latin and less Greek*[a] would still be litigated, and you see very assuredly that I was not mistaken. The trumpet hath been sounded against "the darling project of representing Shakspeare as one of the illiterate vulgar;" and indeed to so good purpose, that I would by all means recommend the performer to the army of the *braying faction*, recorded by Cervantes. The testimony of his contemporaries is again disputed; constant tradition is opposed by flimsy arguments; and nothing is heard, but confusion and nonsense. One could scarcely imagine this a topick very likely to inflame the passions: it is asserted by Dryden, that "those who accuse him to have wanted learning, give him the greatest commendation;" yet an attack upon an article of faith hath been usually received with more temper and complacence, than the unfortunate opinion which I am about to defend.

But let us previously lament with every lover of

[a] This passage of Ben Jonson, so often quoted, is given us in the admirable preface to the late edition, with a various reading, "small Latin and *no* Greek," which hath been held up to the publick for a modern sophistication: yet whether an error or not, it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright. His eulogy, with more than fifty others, on this now forgotten poet, was prefixed to the edit. 1651.

Shakspeare, that the question was not fully discussed by Mr. Johnson himself: what he sees intuitively, others must arrive at by a series of proofs; and I have not time to *teach* with precision: be contented therefore with a few cursory observations, as they may happen to arise from the chaos of papers, you have so often laughed at, "a stock sufficient to set up an *editor in form*." I am convinced of the strength of my cause, and superior to any little advantage from sophistical arrangements.

General positions without proofs will probably have no great weight on either side, yet it may not seem fair to suppress them: take them therefore as their authors occur to me, and we will afterward proceed to particulars.

The testimony of Ben. stands foremost; and some have held it sufficient to decide the controversy: in the warmest panegyrick, that ever was written, he apologizes[3] for what *he* supposed the only defect in his "beloved friend,—

> '———————— Soul of the age!
> 'Th' applause! delight! the wonder of our stage!'—

whose memory he honoured almost to idolatry:" and conscious of the worth of ancient literature, like any other man on the same occasion, he rather carries his acquirements *above*, than *below* the truth. "Jealousy!" cries Mr. Upton; "people will allow others any qualities, but those upon which they highly value *themselves*." Yes, where there *is* a competition, and the competitor formidable: but, I think, this critick himself hath scarcely set in opposition the learning of Shakspeare and Jonson.

[3] "*Though* thou hadst *small Latin*," &c.

When a superiority is universally granted, it by no means appears a man's literary interest to depress the reputation of his antagonist.

In truth the received opinion of the pride and malignity of Jonson, at least in the earlier part of life, is absolutely groundless: at this time scarce a play or a poem appeared without Ben's encomium, from the original Shakspeare to the translator of Du Bartas.

But Jonson is by no means our only authority. Drayton, the countryman and acquaintance of Shakspeare, determines his excellence to the *naturall braine*[4] only. Digges, a wit of the town, before our poet left the stage, is very strong to the purpose,

> " —— Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
> " This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borow,
> " One phrase from Greekes, not Latines imitate,
> " Nor once from vulgar languages translate."[5]

Suckling opposed his *easier strain* to the *sweat of the learned Jonson*. Denham assures us, that all he had was from *old mother-wit*. *His native wood-notes wild*, every one remembers to be celebrated by Milton. Dryden observes prettily enough, that " he wanted not the spectacles of books to read nature." He came out of her hand, as some one else expresses it, like *Pallas* out of *Jove's* head, at full growth and mature.

[4] In his *Elegie on Poets and Poesie*, p. 206. Folio, 1627.

[5] From his *Poem upon Master William Shakspeare*, intended to have been prefixed, with the other of his composition, to the folio of 1623: and afterward printed in several miscellaneous collections: particularly the spurious edition of *Shakspeare's Poems*, 1640. Some account of him may be met with in Wood's *Athenæ*.

The ever memorable Hales of Eton, (who, notwithstanding his epithet, is, I fear, almost forgotten,) had too great a knowledge both of Shakspeare and the ancients to allow much acquaintance between them: and urged very justly on the part of genius in opposition to pedantry, that "if he had not *read* the classicks, he had likewise not *stolen* from them; and if any topick was produced from a poet of antiquity he would undertake to show somewhat on the same subject, at least as well written by Shakspeare."

Fuller a diligent and equal searcher after truth and quibbles, declares positively, that "his learning was very little,—*nature* was all the *art* used upon him, as *he himself*, if alive, would confess." And may we not say, he did confess it, when he apologized for his *untutored lines* to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton?—this list of witnesses might be easily enlarged; but I flatter myself, I shall stand in no need of such evidence.

One of the first and most vehement assertors of the learning of Shakspeare, was the editor of his poems, the well-known Mr. Gildon;[6] and his steps

[6] Hence perhaps the *ill-starr'd rage* between this critick and his elder brother, John Dennis, so pathetically lamented in the *Dunciad*. Whilst the former was persuaded, that "the man who doubts of the learning of Shakspeare, hath none of his own:" the latter, above regarding the attack in his *private* capacity, declares with great patriotick vehemence, that "he who allows Shakspeare had learning, and a learning with the ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the glory of Great Britain." Dennis was expelled his college for attempting to stab a man in the dark: Pope would have been glad of this anecdote.*

* *See this fact established against the doubts and objections of Dr. Kippis in the Biographia Britannica, in Dr. Farmer's Letter to me, printed in the European Magazine, June 1794, p. 412.* Reed.

were most punctually taken by a subsequent labourer in the same department, Dr. Sewell.

Mr. Pope supposed, "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning:" once indeed he made a proper distinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be understood to do in my title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the course of his disquisition, and endeavoured to persuade himself that Shakspeare's acquaintance with the ancients might be actually proved by the same medium as Jonson's.

Mr. Theobald is "very unwilling to allow him so poor a scholar, as many have laboured to represent him;" and yet is "cautious of declaring too positively on the other side of the question."

Dr. Warburton hath exposed the weakness of some arguments from *suspected* imitations; and yet offers others, which, I doubt not, he could as easily have refuted.

Mr. Upton wonders "with what kind of reasoning any one could be so far imposed upon, as to imagine that Shakspeare had no learning;" and lashes with much zeal and satisfaction "the pride and pertness of dunces, who, under such a name would gladly shelter their own idleness and ignorance."

He, like the learned knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

> "Hath hard words ready to show why,
> "And tell what *rule* he did it by."

How would the old bard have been astonished to have found, that he had very skilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, COMMONLY called the *ithyphallic* measure to the Witches in *Macbeth!* and that now and then a halting verse afforded

a most beautiful instance of the *pes proceleusmaticus!*

"But," continues Mr. Upton, "it was a learned age; Roger Ascham assures us, that Queen Elizabeth read more Greek every day, than some *dignitaries* of the church did Latin in a whole week." This appears very probable; and a pleasant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of Shakspeare in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her clergy, that "such as were but *mean readers* should peruse over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the people."

Dr. Grey declares, that Shakspeare's knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues cannot *reasonably* be called in question. Dr. Dodd supposes it *proved*, that he was not such a novice in learning and antiquity as *some people* would pretend. And to close the whole, for I suspect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. Whalley, the ingenious editor of Jonson, hath written a piece expressly on this side the question: perhaps from a very excusable partiality, he was willing to draw Shakspeare from the field of nature to classick ground, where alone, he knew, his author could possibly cope with him.

These criticks, and many others their coadjutors, have supposed themselves able to trace Shakspeare in the writings of the ancients; and have sometimes persuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their author's. Plagiarisms have been discovered in every natural description and every moral sentiment. Indeed by the kind assistance of the various *Excerpta*, *Sententiæ*, and *Flores*, this business may be effected with very little expence of time or sagacity; as Addison hath demonstrated in his comment on *Chevy-chase*, and Wagstaff on *Tom*

Thumb; and I myself will engage to give you quotations from the elder English writers (for to own the truth, I was once idle enough to collect such,) which shall carry with them at least an equal degree of similarity. But there can be no occasion of wasting any future time in this department: the world is now in possession of the *Marks of Imitation*.

"Shakspeare, however, hath frequent allusions to the *facts* and *fables* of antiquity." Granted:—and as Mat. Prior says, to save the effusion of more Christian ink, I will endeavour to show, how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his *matter of fact* knowledge is deduced from Plutarch: but in what language he read him, hath yet been the question. Mr. Upton is pretty confident of his skill in the original, and corrects accordingly the *errors of his copyists* by the Greek standard. Take a few instances, which will elucidate this matter sufficiently.

In the third Act of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Octavius represents to his courtiers the imperial pomp of those illustrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

> "———————————— Unto her
> "He gave the 'stablishment of Egypt, made her
> "Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
> "Absolute queen."

Read *Libya*, says the critick *authoratively*, as is plain from *Plutarch*, Πρώτην μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ, καὶ κοίλης Συρίας.

This is very true: Mr. Heath[7] accedes to the

[7] It is extraordinary, that this gentleman should attempt so voluminous a work, as the *Revisal of Shakspeare's Text*, when,

correction, and Mr. Johnson admits it into the text: but turn to the translation, from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, in folio, 1579,[8] and you will at once see the origin of the mistake.

"First of all he did establish Cleopatra queene of *Ægypt*, of Cyprus, of *Lydia*, and the lower Syria."

Again, in the fourth Act:

"——————— My messenger
"He hath whipt with rods, dares me to personal combat,
"Cæsar to Antony. Let th' old ruffian know
"I have many other ways to die; mean time
"Laugh at his challenge——."

"What a reply is this?" cries Mr. Upton, "'tis acknowledging he should fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

'——————— Let the old ruffian know
'*He* hath many other ways to die; mean time
'*I* laugh at his challenge——.'

we have the poignancy and the very repartee of Cæsar in Plutarch."

This correction was first made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr. Johnson hath received it. Most indisputably it is the sense of Plutarch, and given

he tells us in his Preface, "he was not so fortunate as to be furnished with either of the *folio* editions, much less any of the ancient *quartos*:" and even Sir Thomas Hanmer's performance was known to him only by Mr. Warburton's representation.

[8] I find the character of this work pretty early delineated:
"'Twas Greek at first, that Greek was Latin made,
"That Latin, French; that French to English straid:
"Thus 'twixt one Plutarch there's more difference,
"Than i'th' same Englishman return'd from France."

so in the modern translation: but Shakspeare was misled by the ambiguity of the old one: "Antonius sent again to challenge Cæsar to fight him: Cæsar answered, That *he* had many other ways to die, than so."

In the third Act of *Julius Cæsar*, Antony, in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the emperor's will:

> "—— To every Roman citizen he gives,
> "To every sev'ral man, seventy-five drachmas.——
> "Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
> "His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
> "On *this* side Tiber——."

"Our author certainly wrote," says Mr. Theobald, —"On *that* side Tiber—

> 'Trans Tiberim—prope Cæsaris hortos.'

And Plutarch, whom Shakspeare very diligently studied, expressly declares, that he left the publick his gardens and walks, πέραν τοῦ Ποταμοῦ, *beyond* the *Tyber*."

This emendation likewise hath been adopted by the subsequent editors; but hear again the old translation, where Shakspeare's *study* lay: "He bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome seventy-five drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on *this* side of the river of Tyber." I could furnish you with many more instances, but these are as good as a thousand.

Hence had our author his characteristick knowledge of Brutus and Antony, upon which much argumentation for his learning hath been founded: and hence *literatim* the epitaph on Timon, which it was once presumed, he had corrected from the

blunders of the Latin version, by his own superior knowledge of the original.[9]

I cannot, however, omit a passage from Mr. Pope: "The *speeches* copied from Plutarch in *Coriolanus* may, I think, be as well made an instance of the learning of Shakspeare, as those copy'd from Cicero in *Catiline*, of Ben Jonson's." Let us inquire into this matter, and transcribe a *speech* for a specimen. Take the famous one of Volumnia:

" Should we be silent and not speak, our raiment
" And state of bodies would bewray what life
" We've led since thy exile. Think with thyself,
" How more unfortunate than all living women
" Are we come hither; since thy sight, which should
" Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
" Constrains them weep, and shake with fear and sorrow
" Making the mother, wife, and child to see
" The son, the husband, and the father tearing
" His country's bowels out: and to poor we
" Thy enmity's most capital; thou barr'st us
" Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
" That all but we enjoy. For how can we,
" Alas! how can we, for our country pray,
" Whereto we're bound, together with thy victory,
" Whereto we're bound? Alack! or we must lose
" The country, our dear nurse; or else thy person,
" Our comfort in the country. We must find
" An eminent calamity, though we had
" Our wish, which side shou'd win. For either thou
" Must, as a foreign recreant, be led
" With manacles thorough our streets; or else
" Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
" And bear the palm, for having bravely shed
" Thy wife and children's blood. For myself, son,
" I purpose not to wait on fortune, till
" These wars determine: if I can't persuade thee
" Rather to show a noble grace to both parts,

[9] See Theobald's Preface to *King Richard II.* 8vo. 1720.

" Than seek the end of one; thou shalt no sooner
" March to assault thy country, than to tread
" (Trust to't, thou shalt not,) on thy mother's womb,
" That brought thee to this world."

I will now give you the old translation, which shall effectually confute Mr. Pope: for our author hath done little more, than thrown the very words of North into blank verse.

" If we helde our peace (my sonne) and determined not to speake, the state of our poore bodies, and present sight of our rayment, would easely bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy selfe, howe much more unfortunately, then all the women liuinge we are come hether, considering that the sight which should be most pleasaunt to all other to beholde, spitefull fortune hath made most fearfull to us: making my selfe to see my sonne, and my daughter here, her husband, besieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversitie and miserie, to pray unto the goddes, and to call to them for aide; is the onely thinge which plongeth us into most deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for safety of thy life also: but a worlde of grievous curses, yea more than any mortall enemie can heappe uppon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter soppe of most harde choyce is offered thy wife and children, to foregoe the one of the two: either to lose the persone of thy selfe, or the nurse of their natiue contrie. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tarrie, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot persuade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, then to

ouerthrowe and destroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust unto it, thou shalt no soner marche forward to assault thy countrie, but thy foote shall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee first into this world."

The length of this quotation will be excused for its curiosity; and it happily wants not the assistance of a comment. But matters may not always be so easily managed:—a plagiarism from *Anacreon* hath been detected:

> " The sun's a thief, and with his great attraction
> " Robs the vast sea. The moon's an arrant thief,
> " And her pale fire she snatches from the sun.
> " The sea's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
> " The moon into salt tears. The earth's a thief,
> " That feeds and breeds by a composture stol'n
> " From gen'ral excrement: each thing's a thief."

" This (says Dr. Dodd) is a good deal in the manner of the celebrated *drinking Ode*, too well known to be inserted." Yet it may be alledged by those, who imagine Shakspeare to have been generally able to think for himself, that the topicks are obvious, and their application is different.—But for argument's sake, let the parody be granted; and " our author (says some one) may be puzzled to prove, that there was a Latin translation of Anacreon at the time Shakspeare wrote his *Timon of Athens*." This challenge is peculiarly unhappy: for I do not at present recollect any *other classick*, (if indeed, with great deference to Mynheer De Pauw, Anacreon may be numbered amongst them,) that was *originally* published with *two* Latin[1] translations.

[1] By Henry Stephens and Elias Andreas, Par. 1554, 4to. ten years before the birth of Shakspeare. The former version hath

But this is not all. Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, quotes some one of a "reasonable good facilitie in translation, who finding *certaine* of Anacreon's Odes very well translated by Ronsard the French poet—comes our minion, and translates the same out of French into English:" and his strictures upon him evince the publication. Now this identical ode is to be met with in Ronsard! and as his works are in few hands, I will take the liberty of transcribing it:

"La terre les eaux va boivant,
"L'arbre la boit par sa racine,
"La mer salee boit le vent,
"Et le soleil boit la marine.
"Le soleil est beu de la lune,
"Tout boit soit en haut ou en bas:
"Suivant ceste reigle commune,
"Pourquoy donc ne boirons-nous pas?"

Edit. Fol. p. 507.

I know not whether an observation or two relative to our author's acquaintance with Homer, be worth our investigation. The ingenious Mrs. Lenox observes on a passage of *Troilus and Cressida*, where Achilles is roused to battle by the death of Patroclus, that Shakspeare must *here* have had the *Iliad* in view, as "the old story,[2] which in many places he

been ascribed without reason to John Dorat. Many other translators appeared before the end of the century: and particularly the Ode in question was made popular by Buchanan, whose pieces were soon to be met with in almost every modern language.

[2] It was originally *drawn into Englishe* by Caxton under the name of *The Recuyel of the Historyes of Troy, from the French of the ryght venerable Person and worshipfull man Raoul le Feure, and fynyshed in the holy cityе of Colen, the* 19 *day of Septembre, the yere of our Lord God, a thousand foure hundred sixty and enleuen.* Wynkyn de Worde printed an edit. fol. 1503, and there have been several subsequent ones.

hath faithfully copied, is absolutely silent with respect to this circumstance."

And Mr. Upton is positive that the *sweet oblivious antidote*, inquired after by Macbeth, could be nothing but the *nepenthe* described in the *Odyssey*,

"Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων."

I will not insist upon the translations by Chapman; as the first editions are without date, and it may be difficult to ascertain the exact time of their publication. But the *former* circumstance might have been learned from Alexander Barclay;[3] and the *latter* more fully from Spenser,[4] than from Homer himself.

"But Shakspeare" persists Mr. Upton, "hath some *Greek expressions*." Indeed!—"We have one in *Coriolanus*:

'——————— It is held
'That valour is the chiefest virtue, and
'Most dignifies the *haver*.'

and another in *Macbeth*, where Banquo addresses the *weïrd sisters*:

'——————————— My noble partner
'You greet with present grace, and great prediction
'Of noble *having*.'

[3] "Who list thistory of Patroclus to reade," &c.
Ship of Fooles, 1570, p. 21.

[4] "Nepenthe is a drinck of soueragne grace,
"Deuized by the gods, for to asswage
"Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace—
"Instead thereof sweet peace and quietage
"It doth establish in the troubled mynd," &c.
Faerie Queene, 1596, Book IV. c. iii. st. 43.

Gr. Ἔχεια.—and πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα, to the *haver*."

This was the common language of Shakspeare's time. "Lye in a water-bearer's house!" says Master Mathew of Bobadil, "a gentleman of his *havings!*"

Thus likewise John Davies in his *Pleasant Descant upon English Proverbs*, printed with his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1612:

> "*Do well and have well!*—neyther so still:
> "For some are good *doers*, whose *havings* are ill."

and Daniel the historian uses it frequently. *Having* seems to be synonymous with *behaviour* in Gawin Douglas[5] and the elder Scotch writers.

Haver, in the sense of *possessor*, is every where met with: though unfortunately the πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα of Sophocles produced as an authority for it, is suspected by Kuster,[6] as good a critick in these matters, to have absolutely a different meaning.

But what shall we say to the learning of the Clown in Hamlet, "Ay, tell me that, that *unyoke?*" alluding to the Βελωτὸς of the Greeks: and Homer and his scholiast are quoted accordingly!

If it be not sufficient to say, with Dr. Warburton, that the phrase might have been taken from husbandry, without much depth of reading; we

[5] It is very remarkable, that the bishop is called by his countryman, Sir David Lindsey, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,

> "In *our Inglische* rethorick the rose."

And Dunbar hath a similar expression in his beautiful poem of *The Goldin Terge*.

[6] *Aristophanis* Comœdiæ undecim. Gr. & Lat. *Amst.* 1710, Fol. p. 596.

may produce it from a *Dittie* of the workmen of Dover, preserved in the additions to *Holinshed*, p. 1546:

> "My bow is broke, I would *unyoke*,
> "My foot is sore, I can worke no more."

An expression of my Dame Quickley is next fastened upon, which you may look for in vain in the modern text; she calls some of the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windsor:*

> "—— *Orphan*[7] heirs of fixed Destiny."

"And how elegant is this," quoth Mr. Upton, supposing the word to be used, as a Grecian would have used it? "ὀρφανὸς ab ὀρφνὸς—acting in darkness and obscurity."

Mr. Heath assures us, that the bare mention of such an interpretation, is a sufficient refutation of it: and his critical word will be rather taken in Greek than in English: in the same hands therefore I will venture to leave all our author's know-

[7] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *ouphen;* and not without plausibility, as the word *ouphes* occurs both before and afterward. But I fancy, in acquiescence to the vulgar doctrine, the address in this line is to a part of the *troop,* as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* with respect to their *real* parents, and now only dependent on *Destiny* herself. A few lines from Spenser will sufficiently illustrate the passage:

> "The man whom *heauens* have *ordayn'd* to bee
> "The spouse of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall:*
> "He wonneth in the land of *fayeree*,
> "Yet is no *fary* borne, ne sib at all
> "To elfes, but sprong of seed terrestriall,
> "And whilome by false *faries* stolen away,
> "Whyles yet in infant cradle he did crall," &c.
>
> Edit. 1590, Book III. c. iii. st. 26.

ledge of the *old comedy*, and his etymological learning in the word, *Desdemona*.[8]

Surely poor Mr. Upton was very little acquainted with *fairies*, notwithstanding his laborious study of Spenser. The last authentick account of them is from our countryman William Lilly;[9] and it by no means agrees with the *learned* interpretation: for the *angelical creatures* appeared in his *Hurst* wood in a *most illustrious glory*,—" and indeed, (says the sage,) it is not given to many persons to endure their *glorious aspects*."

The only use of transcribing these things, is to show what absurdities men for ever run into, when they lay down an hypothesis, and afterward seek for arguments in the support of it. What else could induce this man, by no means a bad scholar, to doubt whether *Truepenny* might not be derived from Τρυπανον; and quote upon us with much parade an old scholiast on Aristophanes?—I will not stop to confute him: nor take any notice of two or three more expressions, in which he was pleased to suppose some learned meaning or other; all which he might have found in every writer of the time, or still more easily in the vulgar translation of the Bible, by consulting the Concordance of Alexander Cruden.

But whence have we the plot of *Timon*, except from the Greek of Lucian?—The editors and criticks have never been at a greater loss than in their enquiries of this sort; and the source of a tale hath been often in vain sought abroad, which might easily have been found at home: my good

[8] *Revisal*, p. 75, 323, and 561.

[9] *History of his Life and Times*, p. 102. preserved by his dupe, Mr. Ashmole.

friend, the very ingenious editor of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, hath shown our author to have been sometimes contented with a legendary *ballad*.

The story of the *misanthrope* is told in almost every collection of the time; and particularly in two books, with which Shakspeare was intimately acquainted; the *Palace of Pleasure*, and the *English Plutarch*. Indeed from a passage in an old play, called *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I conjecture that he had before made his appearance on the stage.

Were this a proper place for such a disquisition, I could give you many cases of this kind. We are sent for instance to Cinthio for the plot of *Measure for Measure*, and Shakspeare's judgment hath been attacked for some deviations from him in the conduct of it: when probably all he knew of the matter was from madam Isabella in the *Heptameron* of Whetstone.[1] *Ariosto* is continually quoted for the fable of *Much Ado about Nothing*; but I suspect our poet to have been satisfied with the *Geneura* of Turberville.[2] *As you like it* was *certainly borrowed*, if we believe Dr. Grey, and Mr. Upton, from the *Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*; which by the way was not *printed* till a century afterward: when in truth the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS. contented himself solely with Lodge's *Rosalynd*, or

[1] Lond. 4to. 1582. She *reports* in the fourth dayes exercise, the rare *Historie of Promos and Cassandra*. A marginal note informs us, that Whetstone was the author of the *Commedie* on that subject; which likewise might have fallen into the hands of Shakspeare.

[2] "The tale is a pretie comicall matter, and hath bin written in English verse some few years past, learnedly and with good grace by M. George Turberuil." Harrington's *Ariosto*, fol. 1591, p. 39.

Euphues' *Golden Legacye*, quarto, 1590. The story of *All's well that ends well*, or, as I suppose it to have been sometimes called, *Love's Labour Wonne*,[3] is originally indeed the property of Boccace,[4] but it came immediately to Shakspeare from Painter's *Giletta of Narbon*.[5] Mr. Langbaine could not conceive, whence the story of *Pericles* could be taken, "not meeting in history with any such *Prince of Tyre*;" yet his legend may be found at large in old Gower, under the name of *Appolynus*.[6]

Pericles is one of the plays omitted in the latter editions, as well as the early folios, and not improperly; though it was published many years before the death of Shakspeare, with his name in the title-page. Aulus Gellius informs us, that some plays are ascribed absolutely to Plautus, which he only *re-touched* and *polished*; and this is undoubt-

[3] See Meres's *Wits Treasury*, 1598, p. 282.

[4] Our ancient poets are under greater obligations to Boccace, than is generally imagined. Who would suspect, that Chaucer hath borrowed from an Italian the facetious tale of the *Miller of Trumpington*?

Mr. Dryden observes on the epick performance, *Palamon and Arcite*, a poem little inferior in his opinion to the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*, that the name of its author is wholly lost, and Chaucer is now become the original. But he is mistaken: this too was the work of Boccace, and printed at Ferrara in folio, *con il commento di Andrea Bassi*, 1475. I have seen a copy of it, and a translation into modern Greek, in the noble library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Askew.

It is likewise to be met with in old French, under the title of *La Theseide* de Jean Boccace, contenant les belles & chastes amours de deux jeunes Chevaliers Thebains *Arcite & Palemon*.

[5] In the first Vol. of the *Palace of Pleasure*, 4to. 1566.

[6] *Confessio Amantis*, printed by T. Berthelet, folio, 1532, p. 175, &c.

edly the case with our author likewise. The revival of this performance, which Ben Jonson calls *stale* and *mouldy*, was probably his earliest attempt in the drama. I know, that another of these discarded pieces, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, hath been frequently called so; but most certainly it was not written by our poet at all: nor indeed was it printed in his life-time. The fact on which it is built, was perpetrated no sooner than 1604:[7] much too late for so mean a performance from the hand of Shakspeare.

Sometimes a very little matter detects a forgery. You may remember a play called *The Double Falshood*, which Mr. Theobald was desirous of palming upon the world for a posthumous one of Shakspeare: and I see it is classed as such in the last edition of the Bodleian catalogue. Mr. Pope himself, after all the strictures of Scriblerus,[8] in a letter to Aaron Hill, supposes it of that age; but a mistaken accent determines it to have been written since the middle of the last century:

> "———————— This late example
> "Of base Henriquez, bleeding in me now,
> "From each good *aspect* takes away my trust"

[7] "William Caluerly, of Caluerly in Yorkshire, Esquire, murdered two of his owne children in his owne house, then stabde his wife into the body with full intent to haue killed her, and then instantlie with like fury went from his house, to haue slaine his yongest childe at nurse, but was preuented. Hee was prest to death in Yorke the 5 of August, 1604." *Edm. Howes' Continuation of John Stowe's Summarie*, 8vo. 1607, p. 574. The story appeared before in a 4to. pamphlet, 1605. It is omitted in the folio chronicle, 1631.

[8] These, however, he assures Mr. Hill, were the property of Dr. Arbuthnot.

And in another place,

"You have an *áspect*, sir, of wondrous wisdom."

The word *aspect*, you perceive, is here accented on the *first* syllable, which, I am confident, in *any* sense of it, was never the case in the time of Shakspeare; though it may sometimes appear to be so, when we do not observe a preceding *clision*.[2]

Some of the professed imitators of our old poets have not attended to this and many other *minutiæ*; I could point out to you several performances in the respective styles of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, which the *imitated* bard could not possibly have either read or construed.

This very accent has troubled the annotators on Milton. Dr. Bentley observes it to be "a *tone* different from the present use." Mr. Manwaring, in his *Treatise of Harmony and Numbers*, very solemnly informs us, that "this verse is defective both in accent and quantity, B. III. v. 266:

'His words here ended, but his meek *aspéct*
'Silent yet spake.——'

Here (says he) a syllable is *acuted* and *long*, whereas it should be *short* and *graved!*"

And a still more extraordinary gentleman, one Green, who published a specimen of a *new version* of the *Paradise Lost*, into BLANK verse, "by which

[2] Thus a line in Hamlet's description of the Player, should be printed as in the old folios:

"Tears in his eyes, distraction in's aspéct."

agreeably to the accent in a hundred other places.

that amazing work is brought somewhat nearer the summit of perfection," begins with correcting a blunder in the fourth Book, v. 540:

> " ———— The setting sun
> " Slowly descended, and with right *aspéct*—
> " Levell'd his evening rays.——"

Not so in the *new version:*

> " Meanwhile the setting sun descending slow—
> " Level'd with *áspect* right his ev'ning rays."

Enough of such commentators.[1]—The celebrated Dr. Dee had a *spirit*, who would sometimes condescend to correct him, when peccant in *quantity:* and it had been kind of him to have a little assisted the *wights* abovementioned.—Milton affected the *antique;* but it may seem more extraordinary, that the old accent should be adopted in *Hudibras.*

After all, *The Double Falshood* is superior to Theobald. One passage, and one only in the whole play, he pretended to have written:

> " ———— Strike up, my masters;
> " But touch the strings with a religious softness:
> " Teach sound to languish through the night's dull ear,
> " Till melancholy start from her lazy couch,
> " And carelessness grow convert to attention."

These lines were particularly admired; and his vanity could not resist the opportunity of claiming them: but his claim had been more easily allowed to *any other* part of the performance.

[1] See also a wrong accentuation of the word *aspect* in Mr. Ireland's unmetrical, ungrammatical, harum-scarum Vortigern, which was damned at Drury Lane theatre, April ——1796—the performance of a madman without a lucid interval.

To whom then shall we ascribe it?—Somebody hath told us, who should seem to be a *nostrum-monger* by his argument, that, let *accents* be how they will, it is called *an original play of William Shakspeare* in the *King's Patent* prefixed to Mr. Theobald's edition, 1728, and consequently there *could* be no fraud in the matter. Whilst, on the contrary, the *Irish* laureat, Mr. Victor, remarks, (and were it true, it would certainly be decisive) that the plot is borrowed from a novel of Cervantes, not published till the year after Shakspeare's death. But unluckily the same novel appears in a part of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in Spanish, 1605, and in English by Shelton, 1612.—The same reasoning however, which exculpated our author from *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, may be applied on the present occasion.

But you want *my* opinion:—and from every mark of style and manner, I make no doubt of ascribing it to Shirley. Mr. Langbaine informs us, that he left some plays in MS.—These were written about the time of the *Restoration*, when the *accent* in question was more generally altered.

Perhaps the mistake arose from an *abbreviation* of the name. Mr. Dodsley knew not that the tragedy of *Andromana* was Shirley's, from the very same cause. Thus a whole stream of Biographers tells us, that Marston's plays were printed at London, 1633, "by the care of *William Shakespeare*, the famous comedian."—Here again I suppose, in some transcript, the real publisher's name, *William Sheares*, was *abbreviated*. No one hath protracted the life of Shakspeare beyond 1616, except Mr. Hume; who is pleased to add a year to it, in contradiction to all manner of evidence.

Shirley is spoken of with contempt in *Mac*

Flecknoe; but his imagination is sometimes fine to an extraordinary degree. I recollect a passage in the fourth book of the *Paradise Lost*, which hath been suspected of *imitation*, as a *prettiness* below the genius of Milton: I mean, where *Uriel* glides *backward and forward* to heaven on a *sun-beam*. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might possibly be hinted by a picture of Annibal Caracci in the King of France's cabinet; but I am apt to believe that Milton had been struck with a portrait in Shirley. Fernando, in the comedy of *The Brothers*, 1652, describes Jacinta at *vespers*:

"Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,
"Which suddenly took birth, but overweigh'd
"With its own swelling, drop'd upon her bosome;
"Which by reflexion of her light, appear'd
"As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament:
"After, her looks grew chearfull, and I saw
"A smile shoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
"As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief,
"And with it many *beams* twisted themselves,
"Upon whose *golden threads the angels* walk
"*To and again from heaven.*[2]——"

You must not think me infected with the spirit of Lauder, if I give you another of Milton's imitations:

"——— The swan *with arched neck*
"Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
"Her state with oary feet." Book VII. v. 438, &c.

[2] Middleton, in an obscure play called *A Game at Chesse*, hath some very pleasing lines on a similar occasion:

"Upon those lips, the sweete fresh buds of youth,
"The holy dewe of prayer lies like pearle,
"Dropt from the opening eye-lids of the morne
"Upon the bashfull rose.——"

"The ancient poets, says Mr. Richardson, have not hit upon this beauty; so lavish have they been in their descriptions of the *swan*. Homer calls the swan *long-necked*, δολιχαύχενα; but how much more *pittoresque*, if he had *arched* this length of neck?"

For *this beauty*, however, Milton was beholden to Donne; whose name, I believe, at present is better known than his writings:

"————Like a ship in her full trim,
"A *swan*, so white that you may unto him
"Compare all whitenesse, but himselfe to none,
"Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
"And with his *arched neck* this poore fish catch'd.—"
Progresse of the Soul, st. 24.

Those highly finished landscapes, the *Seasons*, are indeed copied from nature, but Thomson sometimes recollected the hand of his master:

"———————— The stately sailing swan
"Gives out his snowy plumage to the gale;
"*And arching proud his neck with oary feet*,
"Bears forward fierce, and guards his osier isle,
"Protective of his young.———"

But *to return*, as we say on other occasions.—Perhaps the advocates for Shakspeare's knowledge of the Latin language may be more successful. Mr. Gildon takes the van. "It is plain, that he was acquainted with the fables of antiquity very well: that some of the arrows of Cupid are pointed with lead and others with gold, he found in Ovid; and what he speaks of Dido, in Virgil: nor do I know any translation of these poets so ancient as Shakspeare's time." The passages on which these sagacious remarks are made, occur in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; and exhibit, we

see, a clear proof of acquaintance with the Latin classicks. But we are not answerable for Mr. Gildon's ignorance; he might have been told of Caxton and Douglas, of Surrey and Stanyhurst, of Phaer and Twyne, of Fleming and Golding, of Turberville and Churchyard! but these fables were easily known without the help of either the originals or the translations. The fate of Dido had been sung very early by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate; Marlowe had even already introduced her to the stage: and Cupid's arrows appear with their characteristick differences in Surrey, in Sidney, in Spenser, and every sonnetteer of the time. Nay, their very names were exhibited long before in *The Romaunt of the Rose:* a work, you may venture to look into, notwithstanding Master Prynne hath so positively assured us, on the word of John Gerson, that the author is most certainly damned, if he did not care for a serious repentance.[3]

Mr. Whalley argues in the same manner, and with the same success. He thinks a passage in *The Tempest,*

[3] Had our zealous puritan been acquainted with the real crime of De Mehun, he would not have joined in the clamour against him. Poor Jehan, it seems, had raised the expectations of a monastery in France, by the legacy of a great chest, and the weighty contents of it; but it proved to be filled with nothing better than *vetches*. The friars enraged at the ridicule and disappointment, would not suffer him to have christian burial. See the Hon. Mr. Barrington's very learned and curious *Observations on the Statutes*, 4to. 1766, p. 24. From the *Annales d'Aquitaine. Par.* 1537.

Our author had his full share in distressing the spirit of this restless man. "Some Play-books are grown from *Quarto* into *Folio*; which yet bear so good a price and sale, that I cannot but with griefe relate it.—*Shackspeer's Plaies* are printed in the best Crowne-paper, far better than most *Bibles!*"

"———————— High queen of state,
"Great Juno comes; I know her by her *gait*."

a remarkable instance of Shakspeare's knowledge of ancient poetick story; and that the hint was furnished by the *divûm incedo regina* of Virgil.[4]

You know, honest John Taylor, the *Water-poet*, declares that *he never learned his Accidence*, and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek*; yet by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a *learned* man, in spite of every thing, he may say to the contrary: for thus he makes a *gallant* address his *lady:*

"Most inestimable magazine of beauty——in whom *the port and majesty of Juno*, the wisdom of Jove's braine-bred girle, and the feature of Cytherea,[5] have their domestical habitation."

In *The Merchant of Venice*, we have an oath "By

[4] Others would give up this passage for the *vera incessu patuit dea*; but I am not able to see any improvement in the matter: even supposing the poet had been speaking of Juno, and no previous translation were extant.

[5] This passage recalls to my memory a very extraordinary fact. A few years ago, at a great court on the continent, a countryman of ours of high rank and character, [Sir C. H. W.] exhibited with many other candidates his complimental epigram on the birth-day, and carried the prize in triumph:

"O Regina orbis prima & pulcherrima: ridens
"Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens."

Literally stolen from *Angerianus:*

"Tres quondam nudas vidit Priameius heros
"Luce deas; video tres quoque luce deas.
"Hoc majus; tres uno in corpore: *Cœlia ridens*
"*Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.*"

Delitiæ Ital. Poet. by Gruter, under the anagrammatic name of *Ranutius Gherus*, 1608, V. I. p. 189.

Perhaps the *latter part* of the epigram was met with in a whimsical book, which had its day of fame, *Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy*, fol. 1652, 6th edit. p. 520.

two-headed Janus;" and here, says Dr. Warburton, Shakspeare shows his knowledge in the antique: and so again does the *Water-poet*, who describes Fortune,

" Like a *Janus* with a *double face*."

But Shakspeare hath somewhere a *Latin motto*, quoth Dr. Sewell; and so hath John Taylor, and a whole poem upon it into the bargain.

You perceive, my dear sir, how vague and indeterminate such arguments must be: for in fact this *sweet swan of Thames*, as Mr. Pope calls him, hath more scraps of Latin, and allusions to antiquity than are any where to be met with in the writings of Shakspeare. I am sorry to trouble you with trifles, yet what must be done, when grave men insist upon them?

It should seem to be the opinion of some modern criticks, that the personages of classick land begun only to be known in England in the time of Shakspeare; or rather, that he particularly had the honour of introducing them to the notice of his countrymen.

For instance,—*Rumour painted full of tongues*, gives us a prologue to one of the parts of *Henry the Fourth;* and, says Dr. Dodd, Shakspeare had doubtless a view to either Virgil or Ovid in their description of Fame.

But why so? Stephen Hawes, in his *Pastime of Pleasure*, had long before exhibited her in the same manner,

" A goodly lady envyroned about
" With *tongues* of fyre.——"[6]

[6] Cap. 1. 4to. 1555.

and so had Sir Thomas More in one of his *Pageants*:[7]

> " *Fame* I am called, mervayle you nothing
> " Though with *tonges* I am compassed all rounde."

not to mention her elaborate portrait by Chaucer, in *The Boke of Fame*; and by John Higgins, one of the assistants in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, in his Legend of King Albanacte.

A very liberal writer on the *Beauties of Poetry*, who had been more conversant in the ancient literature of other countries, than his own, " cannot but wonder, that a poet, whose classical images are composed of the finest parts, and breathe the very spirit of ancient mythology, should pass for being illiterate:

> " See, what a grace was seated on this brow!
> " Hyperion's curls: the front of Jove himself:
> " An eye like Mars to threaten and command:
> " A station like the herald Mercury,
> " New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill." *Hamlet.*

Illiterate is an ambiguous term: the question is, whether poetick history could be only known by an adept in *languages*. It is no reflection on this ingenious gentleman, when I say, that I use on this occasion the words of a *better* critick, who yet was not willing to carry the *illiteracy* of our poet *too far*:—" They who are in such astonishment at the *learning* of Shakspeare, forget that the pagan imagery was familiar to all the poets of his time; and that abundance of this sort of learning was to be picked up from almost every English book, that

[7] Amongst " the things, which Mayster More wrote in his youth for his pastime," prefixed to his *Workes*, 1557, Fol.

he could take into his hands." For not to insist upon Stephen Bateman's *Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*, 1577, and several other laborious compilations on the subject, all this and much more mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the *Testament of Creseide*,[8] and the *Fairy Queen*,[9] as from a regular Pantheon or Polymetis himself.

Mr. Upton, not contented with *heathen* learning, when he finds it in the text, must necessarily superadd it, when it appears to be wanting; because Shakspeare most certainly hath lost it by accident!

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Don Pedro says of the insensible Benedict, "He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-string, and the little *hangman* dare not shoot at him."

This mythology is not recollected in the ancients, and therefore the critick hath no doubt but his author wrote—"*Henchman*,—*a page, pusio:* and *this* word seeming too hard for the printer, he translated the little urchin into a *hangman*, a character no way belonging to him."

But this character was not borrowed from the ancients;—it came from the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney:

> "Millions of yeares this old drivell Cupid lives;
> "While still more wretch, more wicked he doth prove:
> "Till now at length that Jove an office gives,
> "(At Juno's suite who much did Argus love)
> "In this our world a *hangman* for to be
> "Of all those fooles that will have all they see."
>
> B. II. c. 14.

[8] Printed amongst the works of Chaucer, but really written by *Robert Henderson*, or *Henryson*, according to other authorities.

[9] It is observable that *Hyperion* is used by Spenser with the same error in *quantity*.

I know it may be objected on the authority of such biographers as Theophilus Cibber, and the writer of the Life of Sir Philip, prefixed to the modern editions; that the *Arcadia* was not published before 1613, and consequently too late for this imitation: but I have a copy in my own possession, printed for W. Ponsonbie, 1590, 4to. which hath escaped the notice of the industrious Ames, and the rest of our typographical antiquaries.

Thus likewise every word of antiquity is to be cut down to the classical standard.

In a note on the Prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, (which, by the way, is not met with in the *quarto*,) Mr. Theobald informs us, that the very *names* of the gates of Troy, have been barbarously demolished by the editors: and a deal of learned dust he makes in setting them right again; much however to Mr. Heath's satisfaction. Indeed the learning is modestly withdrawn from the later editions, and we are quietly instructed to read,

> " Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scæa, Troian,
> " And Antenorides."

But had he looked into the *Troy boke* of Lydgate, instead of puzzling himself with Dares Phrygius, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of Shakspeare nor his editors:

> " Therto his eyte | compassed enuyrowne
> " Hadde gates VI to entre into the towne:
> " The first of all | and strengest eke with all,
> " Largest also | and moste pryncypall,
> " Of myghty byldyng | alone pereless,
> " Was by the kynge called | Dardanydes;
> " And in storye | lyke as it is founde,
> " Tymbria | was named the seconde;

" And the thyrde | called Helyas,
" The fourthe gate | hyghte also Cetheas;
" The fyfthe Trojana | the syxth Anthonydes,
" Stronge and myghty | both in werre and pes."[1]
Lond. empr. by R. Pynson, 1513, fol. B. II. ch. xi.

Our excellent friend Mr. Hurd hath borne a noble

[1] The *Troy Boke* was somewhat modernized, and reduced into regular stanzas, about the beginning of the last century, under the name of " *The Life and Death of Hector*—who fought a hundred mayne Battailes in open Field against the Grecians; wherein there were slaine on both Sides *Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thousand Fourscore and Sixe Men*." Fol. no date. This work, Dr. Fuller and several other criticks, have erroneously quoted as the *original*; and observe in consequence, that " if Chaucer's *coin* were of *greater weight* for *deeper learning*, Lydgate's were of a more *refined standard* for *purer language*: so that one might mistake him for a modern writer!"

Let me here make an observation for the benefit of the next editor of Chaucer. Mr. Urry, probably misled by his predecessor, Speght, was determined, *Procrustes-like*, to *force* every line in *The Canterbury Tales* to the same standard: but a precise number of syllables was not the object of our old poets. Lydgate, after the example of his master, very fairly acknowledges,

" Well wot I | moche thing is wronge,
" Falsely metryd | both of short and longe."

and Chaucer himself was persuaded, that the *rime* might possibly be

" ——————— Somewhat agreáble,
" Though some verse faile in a sylláble."

In short, the attention was directed to the *cæsural pause*, as the *grammarians* call it; which is carefully *marked* in every line of Lydgate: and Gascoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the making of Verse*, observes very truly of Chaucer, " Whosoeuer do peruse and well consider his workes, he shall find, that although his lines are not always of one selfe same number of syllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath understanding, the longest verse and that which hath most syllables in it, will fall to the eare correspondent unto that which hath fewest syllables in it: and likewise that whiche hath in it fewest syllables shall be found yet to consist of wordes that hath suche naturall sounde, as may seeme equall in length to a verse which hath many moe syllables of lighter accents." 4to. 1575.

testimony on our side of the question. "Shakspeare," says this true critick, "owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of classical superstition, to the *want* of what is called the *advantage* of a learned education.—This, as well as a vast superiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this astonishing man to the glory of being esteemed the most original *thinker* and *speaker*, since the times of Homer." And hence indisputably the amazing variety of style and manner, unknown to all other writers: an argument of *itself* sufficient to emancipate Shakspeare from the supposition of a *classical training*. Yet, to be honest, *one* imitation is *fastened* on our poet: which hath been insisted upon likewise by Mr. Upton and Mr. Whalley. You remember it in the famous speech of Claudio in *Measure for Measure:*

"Ay, but to die and go we know not where!" &c.

Most certainly the ideas of "a spirit bathing in fiery floods," of residing "in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," or of being "imprisoned in the viewless winds," are not *original* in our author; but I am not sure, that they came from the *Platonick hell* of Virgil.[2] The monks also had their hot and their cold hell: "The fyrste is fyre that ever brenneth, and never gyveth lighte," says an old homily:[3]—"The seconde is passyng colde, that yf a grete hylle of fyre were casten therin, it sholde

[2] "——————— Aliæ panduntur inanes
"Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
"Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni."

[3] At the ende of the *festyuall* drawen oute of *Legenda aurea*, 4to. 1508. It was first printed by Caxton, 1483, "in helpe of such clerkes who excuse theym for defaute of bokes, and also by ymplenes of connynge."

torn to yce." One of their legends, well remembered in the time of Shakspeare, gives us a dialogue between a bishop and a soul tormented in a piece of ice, which was brought to cure *a grete brenning heate* in his foot:[4] take care you do not interpret this the *gout*, for I remember Mr. Menage quotes a *canon* upon us:

"Si quis dixerit episcopum PODAGRA laborare, anathema, sit."

Another tells us of the soul of a monk fastened to a rock, which the winds were to blow about for a twelvemonth, and purge of its enormities. Indeed this doctrine was before now introduced into poetick fiction, as you may see in a poem "where the lover declareth his pains to exceed far the pains of hell," among the many miscellaneous ones subjoined to the works of Surrey. Nay, a very learned and inquisitive Brother-Antiquary, our Greek Professor,[5] hath observed to me on the authority of Blefkenius, that this was the ancient opinion of the inhabitants of Iceland;[6] who were certainly very little read either in the *poet* or the *philosopher*.

After all, Shakspeare's curiosity might lead him to *translations*. Gawin Douglas really changes the *Platonick hell* into the "punytion of saulis in purgatory:" and it is observable, that when the Ghost informs Hamlet of his doom there,

"Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature
"Are *burnt and purg'd away*.——"

the expression is very similar to the bishop's: I will

[4] *On all soules daye*, p. 152.
[5] Mr. afterwards Dr. Lort.
[6] *Islandiæ* Descript. *Ludg. Bat.* 1607, p. 46.

give you his version as concisely as I can; "It is a nedeful thyng to suffer panis and torment—sum in the wyndis, sum under the watter, and in the fire uthir sum:—thus the mony vices—

> 'Contrakkit in the corpis be *done away*
> '*And purgit*.——" *Sixte Booke of Eneados*, fol. p. 191.

It seems, however, "that Shakspeare *himself* in *The Tempest* hath translated some expressions of *Virgil*: witness the *O dea certe*." I presume, we are here directed to the passage, where Ferdinand says of Miranda, after hearing the songs of Ariel,

> "—— Most sure, the goddess
> "On whom these airs attend."

and so *very small Latin* is sufficient for this formidable translation, that if it be thought any honour to our poet, I am loath to deprive him of it; but his honour is not built on such a sandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real translator*, and examine whether the idea might not be fully comprehended by an English reader; *supposing* it necessarily borrowed from Virgil. Hexameters in our own language are almost forgotten; we will quote therefore this time from Stanyhurst:

> "O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
> "Thy tongue, thy visage no mortal frayltie resembleth.
> "—— *No doubt, a godesse!*" Edit. 1583.

Gabriel Harvey desired only to be "*epitaph'd*, the inventor of the English *hexameter*," and for a while every one would be *halting on Roman feet*; but the ridicule of our fellow-collegian Hall, in one of his Satires, and the reasoning of Daniel, in his

Defence of Rhyme against Campion, presently reduced us to our original Gothick.

But to come nearer the purpose, what will you say, if I can show you, that Shakspeare, when, in the favourite phrase, he had a Latin poet *in his eye*, most assuredly made use of a translation?

Prospero, in *The Tempest*, begins the address to his attendant *spirits*,

> "Ye elves of hills, of standing lakes, and groves."

This speech, Dr. Warburton rightly observes to be borrowed from Medea in Ovid: and "it proves," says Mr. Holt,[7] "beyond contradiction, that Shakspeare was perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of the ancients on the subject of inchantments." The original lines are these:

> "Auræque, & venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,
> "Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeste."

It happens, however, that the translation by Arthur Golding[8] is by no means literal, and Shakspeare hath closely followed it:

> "Ye ayres and winds; *ye elves of hills,* of brookes, of woods alone,
> "*Of standing lakes*, and of the night approche ye everych one."

I think it is unnecessary to pursue this any fur-

[7] In some remarks on *The Tempest*, published under the quaint title of *An Attempt to rescue that aunciente English Poet and Play-wrighte, Maister* Williaume Shakespeare, *from the many Errours, faulsely charged upon him by certaine new-fangled Wittes.* Lond. 8vo. 1749, p. 81.

[8] His work is dedicated to the Earl of Leicester in a long epistle in verse, from Berwick, April 20, 1567.

ther; especially as more powerful arguments await us.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Jew, as an apology for his cruelty to Antonio, rehearses many *sympathies* and *antipathies* for which *no reason can be rendered:*

> "Some love not a gaping pig——
> "And others when the *bagpipe* sings i'th'nose,
> "Cannot contain their urine for *affection*."

This incident, Dr. Warburton supposes to be taken from a passage in Scaliger's *Exercitations* against *Cardan:* "Narrabo tibi jocosam sympathiam *Reguli Vasconis* equitis: is dum viveret audito *phormingis* sono, urinam illico facere cogebatur."—"And," proceeds the Doctor, "to make this jocular story still more ridiculous, Shakspeare, I suppose, translated *phorminx* by *bagpipes*."

Here we seem fairly caught;—for Scaliger's work was never, as the term goes, *done into English*. But luckily in an old translation from the French of Peter le Loier, entitled, *A Treatise of Specters, or straunge Sights, Visions, and Apparitions appearing sensibly unto Men*, we have this identical story from Scaliger: and what is still more, a marginal note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of Shakspeare: "Another gentleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Excester, who could not endure the playing on a *bagpipe*."[9]

[9] M. Bayle hath delineated the singular character of our *fantastical* author. His work was originally translated by one Zacharie Jones. My edit. is in 4to. 1605, with an anonymous Dedication to the King: the Devonshire story was therefore well known in the time of Shakspeare.——The passage from Scaliger is likewise to be met with in *The Optick Glasse of Humors*,

We may just add, as some observation hath been made upon it, that *affection* in the sense of *sympathy* was formerly *technical;* and so used by Lord Bacon, Sir Kenelm Digby, and many other writers.

A single word in Queen Catherine's character of Wolsey, in *Henry VIII.* is brought by the Doctor as another argument for the learning of Shakspeare:

> " ———— He was a man
> " Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
> " Himself with princes; one that by *suggestion*
> " Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
> " His own opinion was his law: i'th' presence
> " He would say untruths, and be ever double
> " Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
> " But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
> " His promises were, as he then was, mighty;
> " But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
> " Of his own body he was ill, and gave
> " The clergy ill example."

" The word *suggestion,*" says the critick, " is here used with great propriety, and *seeming* knowledge of the Latin tongue:" and he proceeds to settle the sense of it from *the late Roman writers and their glossers.* But Shakspeare's knowledge was from Holinshed, whom he follows *verbatim:*

" This cardinal was of a great stomach, for he compted himself equal with princes, and by craftie *suggestion* got into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pitifull, and stood affectionate in his own opinion: in open pre-

written, I believe, by T. Wombwell;* and in several other places.

* " So I imagined from a note of Mr. Baker's, but I have since seen a copy in the library of Canterbury Cathedral, printed 1607, and ascribed to T. Walkington, of St. John's, Cambridge." Dr. Farmer's MSS. Reed.

sence de would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much and performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." Edit. 1587, p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads *Tyth'd*—instead of—*Ty'd all the kingdom*, deserves quite so much of Dr. Warburton's severity.——Indisputably the passage, like every other in the speech, is intended to express the meaning of the parallel one in the chronicle: it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *original* was produced, should still choose to defend a *cant* acceptation; and inform us, perhaps, *seriously*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is to *equal!* A sense of the word, as far as I have yet found, *unknown* to our old writers; and, if *known*, would not surely have been used in this place by our author.

But let us turn from conjecture to Shakspeare's authorities. Hall, from whom the above description is copied by Holinshed, is very explicit in the demands of the Cardinal: who having insolently told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, "For sothe I thinke, that *halfe* your substaunce were to litle," assures them by way of comfort at the end of his harangue, that *upon an average* the *tythe* should be sufficient: "Sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for *some* shall not paie the *tenth* parte, and *some* more."—And again: "Thei saied, the Cardinall by visitacions, makyng of abbottes, probates of testamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantines, had made his *threasure egall with the kinges.*" Edit. 1548, p. 138, and 143.

Skelton,[1] in his *Why come ye not to Court*, gives us, after his rambling manner, a curious character of Wolsey:

[1] His poems are printed with the title of "Pithy, Pleasaunt, and Profitable Workes of Maister *Skelton Poet Laureate*."—"But," says Mr. Cibber, after several other writers, "how or by what interest he was made *Laureat*, or whether it was by a title he assumed to himself, cannot be determined." This is an error pretty generally received, and it may be worth our while to remove it.

A facetious author says somewhere, that a *poet laureat*, in the modern idea, is a gentleman, who hath an annual stipend for reminding us of the *New Year*, and the *Birth-day*: but formerly a *Poet Laureat* was a real *university graduate*.

"Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
"And past in *schoels* ye knoe."

says Churchyarde in a poem prefixed to his works. And Master Caxton in his Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490, hath a passage, which well deserves to be quoted without abridgement: "I praye mayster *John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the universitie of Oxenforde*, to oversee and correcte thys sayd booke, and taddresse and expowne whereas shall be founde faulte, to theym that shall requyre it; for hym I knowe for suffycyent to expowne and Englysshe every dyfficulte that is therein; for he hath late translated the epystles of Tulle, and the book of Dyodorus Syculus, and diverse other workes out of Latyn into Englyshe, not in rude and old language, but in polyshed and ornate termes, craftely, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle, Ouyde, Tullye*, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen: and also he hath redde the ix muses, and understands their musical scyences, and to whom of them eche scyence is appropred: I suppose he hath dronken of *Elycons* well!"

I find, from Mr. Baker's MSS. that our *laureat* was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge: "An. Dom. 1493, & Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur *Johi Skelton* Poete in partibus transmarinis atque *Oxon.* Laureâ ornato, ut apud nos eâdem decoraretur." And afterward, "An. 1504-5. Conceditur *Johi Skelton*, Poetæ Laureat. quod possit stare eodum gradu hic, quo stetit *Oxoniis*, & quod possit uti habitu sibi concesso à Principe."

See likewise Dr. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 122. And *Recherches* sur les *Poetes couronnez*, par M. l'Abbé du Resnel, in the *Memoires de Litterature*, Vol. X. *Paris*, 4to. 1736.

" ——— By and by
" He will drynke us so dry
" And sucke us so nye
" That men shall scantly
" Haue penny or halpennye
" God saue hys noble grace
" And graunt him a place
" Endlesse to dwel
" With the deuill of hel
" For and he were there
" We need neuer feare
" Of the feendes blacke
" For I undertake
" He wold so brag and crake
" That he wold than make
" The deuils to quake
" To shudder and to shake
" Lyke a fier drake
" And with a cole rake
" Bruse them on a brake
" And binde them to a stake
" And set hel on fyre
" At his owne desire
" He is such a grym syre!" Edit. 1568.

Mr. Upton and some other criticks have thought it very *scholar-like* in Hamlet to swear the Centinels on a *sword:* but this is for ever met with. For instance, in the *Passus Primus* of Pierce Plowman:

" Dauid in his daies dubbed knightes,
" And did hem *swere on her sword* to serue truth euer."

And in *Hieronymo*, the common butt of our author and the wits of the time, says Lorenzo to Pedringano,

" Swear on this cross, that what thou sayst is true—
" But if I prove thee perjured and unjust,
" This very *sword*, whereon thou took'st thine oath,
" Shall be the worker of thy tragedy!"

We have therefore no occasion to go with Mr. Garrick as far as the French of Brantôme to illustrate this ceremony:[2] a *gentleman*, who will be always allowed the *first commentator* on Shakspeare, when he does not carry us beyond *himself*.

Mr. Upton, however, in the next place, produces a passage from *Henry VI.* whence he argues it to be very plain, that our author had not only *read Cicero's Offices*, but even more critically than many of the editors:

> "———— This villain here,
> "Being captain of a *pinnace*, threatens more
> "Than Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate."

So the *wight*, he observes with great exultation, is named by Cicero in the editions of Shakspeare's time, "Bargulus Illyrius latro;" though the modern editors have chosen to call him Bardylis:—"and *thus* I found it in *two* MSS."—And *thus* he might have found it in *two* translations, before Shakspeare was born. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him, "Bargulus a pirate upon the see of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimald, about twenty years afterward, "Bargulus the Illyrian robber."[3]

But it had been easy to have checked Mr. Upton's exultation, by observing, that Bargulus does not appear in the *quarto*.—Which also is the case with some fragments of Latin verses, in the different *parts* of this *doubtful* performance.

[2] Mr. Johnson's edit. Vol. VIII. p. 171.

[3] I have met with a writer who tells us, that a translation of the *Offices* was printed by Caxton, in the year 1481: but such a book never existed. It is a mistake for *Tullius of old Age*, printed with *The Boke of Frendshipe*, by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. I believe the former was translated by William Wyrcestre, alias Botoner.

It is scarcely worth mentioning, that two or three more Latin passages, which are met with in our author, are immediately transcribed from the story or chronicle before him. Thus in *Henry V.* whose right to the kingdom of France is copiously demonstrated by the Archbishop:

> " ——————— There is no bar
> " To make against your highness' claim to France,
> " But this which they produce from Pharamond:
> " In terram Salicam mulieres nè succedant;
> " No woman shall succeed in Salike land:
> " Which Salike land the French unjustly gloze
> " To be the realm of France, and Pharamond
> " The founder of this law and female bar.
> " Yet their own authors faithfully affirm,
> " That the land Salike lies in Germany,
> " Between the floods of Sala and of Elve," &c.

Archbishop Chichelie, says Holinshed, " did much inueie against the surmised and false fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer against the kings of England in barre of their just title to the crowne of France. The very words of that supposed law are these, In terram Salicam mulieres nè succedant, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succeed; which the French glossers expound to be the realm of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond: whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala, &c. p. 545.

It hath lately been repeated from Mr. Guthrie's *Essay on English Tragedy*, that the *portrait* of Macbeth's *wife* is copied from Buchanan, " whose spirit, as well as words, is translated into the play of Shakspeare: and it had signified nothing to have pored only on Holinshed for *facts*."——" Animus

etiam, per se ferox, prope quotidianis conviciis uxoris (quæ omnium consiliorum ei erat conscia) stimulabatur."—This is the whole, that Buchanan says of the *lady;* and truly I see no more *spirit* in the Scotch, than in the English chronicler. "The wordes of the three weird sisters also greatly encouraged him, [to the murder of Duncan] but specially his wife lay sore upon him to attempt the thing, as she that was very ambitious, brenning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene." Edit. 1577, p. 244.

This part of Holinshed is an abridgement of Johne Bellenden's translation of the *noble clerk*, *Hector Boece*, imprinted at Edinburgh, in fol. 1541. I will give the passage as it is found there: "His wyfe impacient of lang tary (*as all wemen ar*) specially quhare they are desirus of ony purpos, gaif hym gret artation to pursew the thrid weird, that sche micht be ane quene, calland hym oft tymis febyl cowart and nocht desyrus of honouris, sen he durst not assailze the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to hym be beniuolence of fortoun. Howbeit sindry otheris hes assailzeit sic thinges afore with maist terribyl jeopardyis, quhen thay had not sic sickernes to succeid in the end of thair laubouris as he had." P. 173.

But we can *demonstrate*, that Shakspeare had not the story from Buchanan. According to *him*, the weird-sisters salute Macbeth, "Una Angusiæ Thamum, altera Moraviæ, tertia *regem*."——Thane of Angus, and of Murray, &c. but according to Holinshed, immediately from Bellenden, as it stands in Shakspeare: "The first of them spake and sayde, All hayle Makbeth, thane of Glammis,—the second of them said, Hayle Makbeth, thane of Cawder;

but the third sayde, All hayle Makbeth, that hereafter shall be *king of Scotland.*" P. 243.

> "1. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!
> "2. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
> "3. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! that shall be *king* hereafter!"

Here too our poet found the equivocal predictions, on which his hero so fatally depended. "He had learned of certain wysards, how that he ought to take heede of Macduffe;——and surely hereupon had he put Macduffe to death, but a certaine witch whom he had in great trust, had tolde, that he should neuer be slain with *man born of any woman*, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane." P. 244. And the scene between Malcolm and Macduff in the fourth Act is almost literally taken from the Chronicle.

Macbeth was certainly one of Shakspeare's latest productions, and it might possibly have been suggested to him by a little performance on the same subject at Oxford, before King James, 1605. I will transcribe my notice of it from Wake's *Rex Platonicus:* "Fabulæ ansam dedit antiqua de Regiâ prosapiâ historiola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurrisse duobus Scotiæ proceribus, Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum prædixisse Regem futurum, sed Regem nullum geniturum; hunc Regem non futurum, sed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit. Banchonis enim è stirpe potentissimus Jacobus oriundus." P. 29.

A stronger argument hath been brought from the plot of *Hamlet.* Dr. Grey and Mr. Whalley assure

us, that for *this* Shakspeare *must* have read *Saxo Grammaticus* in Latin, for no translation hath been made into any modern language. But the truth is, he did not take it from *Saxo* at all; a novel called *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, was his original: a fragment of which, in *black letter*, I have been favoured with by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, to whom the lovers of Shakspeare will some time or other owe great obligations.

It hath indeed been said, that "IF *such an history exists*, it is almost impossible that any poet unacquainted with the Latin language (supposing his perceptive faculties to have been ever so acute,) could have caught the characteristical madness of Hamlet, described by *Saxo Grammaticus*,[4] so happily as it is delineated by Shakspeare.

Very luckily, our fragment gives us a part of Hamlet's speech to his *mother*, which sufficiently replies to this observation:—"It was not without cause, and juste occasion, that my gestures, countenances and words seeme to proceed from a madman, and that I desire to haue all men esteeme mee wholy depriued of sence and reasonable understanding, bycause I am well assured, that he that hath made no conscience to kill his owne brother, (accustomed to murthers, and allured with desire of gouernement without controll in his treasons,) will not spare to saue himselfe with the like crueltie, in the blood, and flesh of the loyns of his brother, by him massacred: and therefore it is better for me to fayne madnesse then to use my right sences as

[4] "Falsitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita astutiam veriloquio permiscebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deesset, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." This is quoted, as it had been before, in Mr. Guthrie's *Essay on Tragedy*, with a *small* variation from the *Original*. See edit. fol. 1644, p. 50.

nature hath bestowed them upon me. The bright shining clearnes therof I am forced to hide vnder this shadow of dissimulation, as the sun doth hir beams vnder some great cloud, when the wether in summer time ouercasteth: the face of a mad man, serueth to couer my gallant countenance, and the gestures of a fool are fit for me, to the end that guiding my self wisely therin I may preserue my life for the Danes and the memory of my late deceased father, for that the desire of reuenging his death is so ingrauen in my heart, that if I dye not shortly, I hope to take such and so great vengeance, that these countryes shall for euer speake thereof. Neuertheless I must stay the time, meanes, and occasion, lest by making ouer great hast, I be now the cause of mine own sodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts desire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, disloyall, cruell, and discourteous man, must vse craft, and politike inuentions, such as fine witte can best imagine, not to discouer his interprise: for seeing that by force I cannot affect my desire, reason alloweth me by dissimulation, subtiltie, and secret practises to proceed therein."

But to put the matter out of all question, my communicative friend, above-mentioned, Mr. Capell, (for why should I not give myself the credit of his name?) hath been fortunate enough to procure from the collection of the Duke of Newcastle, a *complete* copy of the *Historie of Hamblet*, which proves to be a translation from the French of Belleforest; and he tells me, that "all the chief incidents of the play, and all the capital characters are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner: sentiments indeed there are none, that Shakspeare could borrow; nor any expression but

one, which is, where Hamlet kills Polonius behind the arras: in doing which he is made to cry out as in the play, "*a rat, a rat!*"—So much for *Saxo Grammaticus!*

It is scarcely conceivable, how industriously the puritanical zeal of the last age exerted itself in destroying, amongst better things, the innocent amusements of the former. Numberless *Tales* and *Poems* are alluded to in old books, which are now perhaps no where to be found. Mr. Capell informs me, (and he is in these matters, the most able of all men to give information,) that our author appears to have been beholden to some novels, which he hath yet only seen in French or Italian: but he adds, "to say they are not in some English dress, prosaic or metrical, and perhaps with circumstances nearer to his stories, is what I will not take upon me to do: nor indeed is it what I believe; but rather the contrary, and that time and accident will bring some of them to light, if not all."—

W. Painter, at the conclusion of the second *Tome* of his *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, *advertises* the reader, "bicause sodaynly (contrary to expectation) this volume is risen to a greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this present time *sundry nouels* of mery deuise, reseruing the same to be joyned with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succeede the remnant of *Bandello*, specially sutch (suffrable) as the learned French man François de Belleforest hath selected, and the choysest done in the Italian. Some also out of *Erizzo*, *Sir Giouanni Florentino*, *Parabosco*, *Cynthio*, *Straparole*, *Sansouino*, and the best liked out of the Queene of *Nauarre*, and other authors. Take these in good part, with those that haue and shall come forth."—But I am not able to find that a *third Tome* was ever published: and it is very

probable, that the interest of his booksellers, and more especially the prevailing mode of the time, might lead him afterward to print his *sundry novels* separately. If this were the case, it is no wonder, that such *fugitive pieces* are recovered with difficulty; when the *two Tomes*, which Tom. Rawlinson would have called *justa volumina*, are almost annihilated. Mr. Ames, who searched after books of this sort with the utmost avidity, most certainly had not seen them, when he published his *Typographical Antiquities;* as appears from his blunders about them: and possibly I myself might have remained in the same predicament, had I not been favoured with a copy by my generous friend, Mr. Lort.

Mr. Colman, in the Preface to his elegant translation of Terence, hath offered some arguments for the learning of Shakspeare which have been retailed with much confidence, since the appearance of Mr. Johnson's edition.

"Besides the resemblance of particular passages scattered up and down in different plays, it is well known, that the *Comedy of Errors* is in great measure founded on the *Menæchmi* of Plautus; but I do not recollect ever to have seen it observed, that the disguise of the *Pedant* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and his assuming the name and character of *Vincentio*, seem to be evidently taken from the disguise of the *Sycophanta* in the *Trinummus* of the said author;[a] and there is a quotation from the

[a] This observation of Mr. Colman is quoted by his very ingenious colleague, Mr. Thornton, in his translation of this play: who further remarks, in another part of it, that a passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Shakspeare speaks of the *contradiction* in the nature of *love*, is very much in the manner of his author:

"Amor—mores hominum moros & morosos efficit.

"Minus placet quod suadetur, quod disuadetur placet.

Eunuch of Terence also, so familiarly introduced

" Quom inopia'st, cupias, quando ejus copia'st, tum non velis," &c.

Which he translates with ease and elegance,

" ———— Love makes a man a fool,
" Hard to be pleas'd.—What you'd persuade him to,
" He likes not, and embraces that, from which
" You would dissuade him.—What there is a lack of,
" That will he covet; when 'tis in his power,
" He'll none on't——" Act III. sc. iii.

Let us now turn to the passage in Shakspeare:

" —— O brawling love! O loving hate!—
" O heavy lightness! serious vanity!
" Mis-shapen chaos of well-seeming forms!
" Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!
" Still-waking sleep! that is not what it is!"

Shakspeare, I am sure, in the opinion of Mr. Thornton, did not want a Plautus to teach him the workings of nature; nor are his *parallelisms* produced with any such implication: but, I suppose, a peculiarity appears here in the manner of expression, which however was extremely the humour of the age. Every *sonnetteer* characterizes *love* by contrarieties. Watson begins one of his *canzonets*,

" Love is a sowre delight, a sugred griefe,
" A living death, an euer-dying life," &c.

Turberville makes *Reason* harangue against it in the same manner:

" A fierie frost, a flame that frozen is with ise!
" A heavie burden light to beare! a vertue fraught with vice!" &c.

Immediately from *The Romaunt of the Rose*;

" Loue it is an hatefull pees
" A free acquitaunce without reles—
" *An heavie burthen light to beare*
" A wicked wawe awaie to weare:
" And health full of maladie
" And charitie full of envie—
" A laughter that is weping aie
" Rest that trauaileth night and daie," &c.

This kind of *antithesis* was very much the taste of the Provençal and Italian poets; perhaps it might be hinted by the *Ode of Sappho*, preserved by Longinus: Petrarch is full of it:

into the dialogue of *The Taming of the Shrew*, that I think it puts the question of Shakspeare's having read the Roman comick poets in the *original* language out of all doubt,

'Redime te captum, quam queas minimo."

With respect to *resemblances*, I shall not trouble you any further.—That the *Comedy of Errors* is founded on the *Menæchmi*, it is notorious: nor is it less so, that a translation of it by W. W. perhaps William Warner, the author of *Albion's England*, was extant in the time of Shakspeare;* though Mr. Upton, and some other advocates for his learning, have cautiously dropt the mention of it. Besides this, (if indeed it were different) in the *Gesta Grayorum*, the Christmas Revels of the Grays-Inn Gentlemen, 1594, "a *Comedy of Errors*, like to Plautus his *Menechmus* was played by the Players." And the same hath been suspected to be the subject of the *goodlie Comedie of Plautus*, acted at

"Pace non trovo, & non hó da far guerra,
"Et temo, et spero, & ardo, & son un ghiaccio.
"Et volo sopra'l cielo, & ghiaccio in terra,
"Et nulla stringo, & tuttol mondo abbraccio," &c.
Sonetto 105.

Sir Thomas Wyat gives a translation of this Sonnet, without any notice of the *original*, under the title of "Description of the contrarious passions in a Louer," amongst the *Songes and Sonettes*, by the Earle of Surrey and Others, 1574.

* It was published in 4to. 1595. The printer of Langbaine, p. 524, hath accidentally given the date, 1515, which hath been copied implicitly by Gildon, Theobald, Cooke, and several others. Warner is now almost forgotten, yet the old criticks esteemed him one of "our chiefe heroical *makers*."—*Meres* informs us, that he had "heard him termed of the best wits of both our Universities, our *English Homer*."

Greenwich before the King and Queen in 1520; as we learn from Hall and Holinshed:—Riccoboni highly compliments the English on opening their stage so well; but unfortunately, Cavendish in his *Life of Wolsey*, calls it, an *excellent Interlude in Latine*. About the same time it was exhibited in German at Nurembugrh, by the celebrated *Hanssach*, the *shoemaker*.

"But a character in *The Taming of the Shrew* is borrowed from the *Trinummus*, and no translation of *that* was extant."

Mr. Colman indeed hath been better employed: but if he had met with an old comedy, called *Supposes*, translated from Ariosto by George Gascoigne;[7] he certainly would not have appealed to Plautus. Thence Shakspeare borrowed this part of the plot, (as well as some of the phraseology,) though Theobald pronounces it his own invention: there likewise he found the quaint name of *Petruchio*. My young master and his man exchange habits and characters, and persuade a Scenæse, as he is called, to personate the *father*, exactly as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, by the pretended danger of his coming from Sienna to Ferrara, contrary to the order of the government.

Still, Shakspeare quotes a line from the *Eunuch* of Terence: by memory too, and what is more, "purposely alters it, in order to bring the sense

[7] His works were first collected under the singular title of "A hundredth sundrie Flowres bound up in one small Poesie. Gathered partly (by translation) in the fyne outlandish gardins of *Euripides*, *Ouid*, *Petrarke*, *Ariosto*, and others: and partly by inuention, out of our own fruitefull orchardes in Englande: yelding sundrie sweet sauors of tragical, comical, and morall discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smellyng noses of learned readers." *Black letter*, 4to. no date.

within the compass of one line."——This remark was previous to Mr. Johnson's; or indisputably it would not have been made at all.——"Our author had this line from Lilly; which I mention that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning."

"But how," cries an unprovoked antagonist, "can you take upon you to say, that he had it from Lilly, and not from Terence?"[a] I will answer for Mr. Johnson, who is above answering for himself. —Because it is quoted as it appears in the *grammarian*, and not as it appears in the *poet*.—And thus we have done with the *purposed* alteration. Udall likewise in his *Floures for Latin speaking, gathered out of Terence*, 1560, reduces the passage to a single line, and subjoins a translation.

We have hitherto supposed Shakspeare the author of the *Taming of a Shrew*, but his property in it is extremely disputable. I will give you my opinion, and the reasons on which it is founded. I suppose then the present play not *originally* the work of Shakspeare, but restored by him to the stage, with the whole Induction of the Tinker, and some other occasional improvements; especially in the character of Petruchio. It is very obvious, that the *induction* and the *play* were either the works of different hands, or written at a great interval of time: the former is in our author's *best* manner, and the greater part of the *latter* in his *worst*, or even below it. Dr. Warburton declares it to be *certainly* spurious: and without doubt, *supposing* it to have been written by Shakspeare, it must have been one of his *earliest* productions; yet it is not

[a] W. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnson's edit. of Shakspeare, 1765, 8vo. p. 105.

mentioned in the list of his works by Meres in 1598.

I have met with a facetious piece of Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596, (and possibly there may be an earlier edition,) called, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, where I suspect an allusion to the old play: "Reade the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that *now* every one can rule a shrew in our countrey, save he that hath hir."—I am aware, a *modern* linguist may object, that the word *book* does not at present seem *dramatick*, but it was once almost *technically* so: Gosson, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, "contayning a pleasaunt inuective against *Poets*, *Pipers*, *Players*, *Jesters*, and such like *Caterpillars* of a common-wealth," 1579, mentions "twoo prose *bookes* plaied at the Belsauage;" and Hearne tells us in a note at the end of *William of Worcester*, that he had seen "a MS. in the nature of a *play* or *interlude*, intitled, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*."[9]

[9] I know indeed, there is extant a very old poem, in *black letter*, to which it might have been supposed Sir John Harrington alluded, had he not spoken of the discovery as a *new* one, and recommended it as worthy the notice of his countrymen: I am persuaded the method in the old bard will not be thought *either*. At the end of the sixth volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, we are *favoured* by Mr. Hearne with a Macaronick poem on a battle at Oxford, between the scholars and the townsmen: on a line of which,

"Invadunt aulas *bycheson cum forth* geminantes,"

our commentator very wisely and gravely remarks: "*Bycheson*, id est, *son* of a *byche*, ut è codice Rawlinsoniano edidi. Eo nempe modo quo et olim *whorson* dixerunt pro *son of a whore*. Exempla habemus cum alibi tum in libello quodam lepido & antiquo (inter codices Seldenianos in Bibl. Bodl.) qui inscribitur: *The wife lapped in Morel's Skyn: ort he Taming of a Shrew*. Ubi pag. 30, sic legimus:

And in fact, there is such an old *anonymous* play in Mr. Pope's list. "A pleasant conceited History, called, *The Taming of a Shrew*—sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his Servants." Which seems to have been republished by the remains of that company in 1607, when Shakspeare's copy appeared at the Black-Friars or the Globe.—Nor let this seem derogatory from the character of our poet. There is no reason to believe, that he wanted to claim the play as his own; it was not even printed till some years after his death: but he merely revived it on his stage as a *manager*.—Ravenscroft assures us, that this was really the case with *Titus Andronicus*; which, it may be observed, hath not Shakspeare's name on the title-page of the only edition published in his life-time. Indeed, from every internal mark, I have not the least doubt but this *horrible* piece was originally written by the author of the *lines* thrown into the mouth of the *player* in *Hamlet*, and of the tragedy of *Locrine*:

"They wrestled togyther thus they two
"So long that the clothes asunder went.
"And to the ground he threwe her tho,
"That cleane from the backe her smock he rent.
"In every hand a rod he gate,
"And layd upon her a right good pace:
"Asking of her what game was that,
"And she cried out, *Horeson*, alas, alas."

Et pag. 42:

"Come downe now in this seller so deepe,
"And morels skin there shall you see:
"With many a rod that hath made me to weepe,
"When the blood ranne downe fast by my knee.
"The mother this beheld, and cryed out, alas:
"And ran out of the seller as she had been wood.
"She came to the table where the company was,
"And sayd out, *horeson*, I will see thy harte blood."

which likewise from some assistance perhaps given to his friend, hath been unjustly and ignorantly charged upon Shakspeare.

But the *sheet-anchor* holds fast: Shakspeare himself hath left some translations from Ovid. "The Epistles," says one, "of Paris and Helen, give a sufficient proof of his acquaintance with *that* poet:" "And it may be concluded," says another, "that he was a competent judge of *other* authors, who wrote in the same language."

This hath been the universal cry, from Mr. Pope himself to the criticks of yesterday. Possibly, however, the gentlemen will hesitate a moment, if we tell them, that Shakspeare was *not* the author of these translations. Let them turn to a forgotten book, by Thomas Heywood, called, *Britaines Troy*, printed by W. Jaggard in 1609, fol. and they will find these identical Epistles, "which being so pertinent to our historie," says Heywood, "*I* thought necessarie to translate."—How then came they ascribed to Shakspeare? We will tell them that likewise. The same voluminous writer published an *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, and in an Appendix directed to his new printer, Nic. Okes, he accuses his old one, Jaggard, of "taking the two *Epistles of Paris to Helen* and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a less volume, and under the name of *another*:—but *he* was much offended with Master Jaggard, that altogether unknowne to him, he had presumed to make so bold with his name."[1]

[1] It may seem little matter of wonder, that the name of Shakspeare should be borrowed for the benefit of the bookseller; and by the way, as probably for a *play* as a *poem*: but modern criticks may be surprised perhaps at the complaint of John Hall, that "certayne chapters of the *Proverbes*, translated by him into

In the same work of Heywood are all the other translations, which have been printed in the modern editions of the poems of Shakspeare.

You now hope for land: We have seen through little matters, but what must be done with a whole book?—In 1751, was reprinted, "A compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Countrymen in these our Days: which although they are in some Parte unjust and friuolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogue, throughly debated and discussed by William Shakspeare, Gentleman." 8vo.

This extraordinary piece was originally published in 4to. 1581, and dedicated by the author, "To the most vertuous and learned lady, his most deare and soveraigne princesse, Elizabeth; being inforced by her Majesties late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his unduetifull misdemeanour." And by the modern editors, to the late King; as "a treatise composed by the most extensive and fertile genius, that ever any age or nation produced."

Here we join issue with the writers of that excellent, though very unequal work, the *Biographia Britannica*:[a] "If," say they, "this piece could be

English metre, 1550, had before been untruely *entituled* to be the doyngs of Mayster *Thomas Sternhold*."

[a] I must, however, correct a remark in the *Life of Spenser*, which is impotently levelled at the first criticks of the age. It is observed from the correspondence of Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, that the plan of *The Fairy Queen*, was laid, and part of it executed in 1580, *three* years before the *Gierusalemme Liberata* was printed: "hence appears the impertinence of all the apologies for his choice of *Ariosto's* manner in preference to *Tasso's*!"

But the fact is not true with respect to Tasso. Manso and Niceron inform us, that his poem was published, though imperfectly, in 1574; and I myself can assure the biographer, that I

written by our poet, it would be absolutely decisive in the dispute about his learning; for many quotations appear in it from the Greek and Latin classicks."

The concurring circumstances of the *name*, and the *misdemeanor*, which is supposed to be the old story of *deer-stealing*, seem fairly to challenge our poet for the author: but they hesitate.—His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581, when Shakspeare was only *seventeen*, and the *long* experience which the writer talks of.—But I will not

have met with at least *six* other editions, preceding his date for its first publication. I suspect, that Baillet is accountable for this mistake: who in the *Jugemens des Scavans*, Tom. III. p. 399, mentions no edition previous to the quarto, *Venice*, 1583.

It is a question of long standing, whether a part of *The Fairy Queen* hath been *lost*, or whether the work was left *unfinished*: which may effectually be answered by a single quotation. William Browne published some Poems in fol. 1616, under the name of *Britannia's Pastorals*, "esteemed *then*," says Wood, "to be written in a sublime strain, and for subject *amorous* and *very pleasing*."—In one of which, Book II. Song 1, he thus speaks of Spenser:

"He sung th' heroicke knights of faiery land
"In lines so elegant, of such command,
"That had the Thracian plaid but halfe so well,
"He had not left Eurydice in hell.
"But *e're he ended his melodious song*,
"An host of *angels* flew the clouds among,
"And rapt this swan from his attentive mates,
"To make him one of their associates
"In heauens faire quire: where now he sings the praise
"Of him that is the *first and last of daies*."

It appears, that Browne was intimate with Drayton, Jonson, and Selden, by their poems prefixed to his book: he had therefore good opportunities of being acquainted with the fact abovementioned. Many of his poems remain in MS. We have in our library at Emmanuel, a masque of his, presented at the Inner Temple, Jan. 13, 1614. The subject is the story of Ulysses and Circe.

keep you in suspense: the book was *not* written by Shakspeare.

Strype, in his *Annals*, calls the author SOME *learned man*, and this gave me the first suspicion. I knew very well, that honest John (to use the language of Sir Thomas Bodley) did not waste his time with such *baggage books* as *plays* and *poems*; yet I must suppose, that he had heard of the name of Shakspeare. After a while I met with the original edition. Here in the title-page, and at the end of the dedication, appear only the initials, W. S. Gent. and presently I was informed by Anthony Wood, that the book in question was written, not by William Shakspeare, but by William Stafford, Gentleman:[3] which at once accounted for the *misdemeanour* in the dedication. For Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden and the other annalists inform us, with some of the conspirators against Elizabeth; which he properly calls his *unduetifull* behaviour.

I hope by this time, that any one open to conviction may be nearly satisfied; and I will promise to give you on this head very little more trouble.

The justly celebrated Mr. Warton hath favoured us, in his *Life of Dr. Bathurst*, with some *hearsay* particulars concerning Shakspeare from the papers of Aubrey, which had been in the hands of Wood; and I ought not to suppress them, as the *last* seems to make against my doctrine. They came originally, I find, on consulting the MS. from one Mr. Beeston: and I am sure Mr. Warton, whom I have the

[3] *Fasti*, 2d edit. v. 1, 208.—It will be seen on turning to the former edition, that the latter part of the paragraph belongs to another Stafford.—I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet.

honour to call my friend, and an associate in the question, will be in no pain about their credit.

" William Shakspeare's father was a butcher,—while he was a boy he exercised his father's trade, but when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style, and make a speech. This William being inclined *naturally* to poetry and acting, came to London, I guess, about *eighteen*, and was an actor in one of the playhouses, and did act *exceedingly well.* He began *early* to make essays in dramatique poetry.—The humour of the Constable in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream* he happened to take at Crendon[4] in Bucks.—I think, I have been told, that he left near three hundred pounds to a *sister.*—*He understood Latin pretty well,* FOR *he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the country.*"

I will be short in my animadversions; and take them in their order.

The account of the *trade* of the family is not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may seem, to the instrument from the Herald's Office, so frequently reprinted.——Shakspeare most certainly went to London, and commenced actor through necessity, not natural inclination.—Nor have we any reason to suppose, that he did act *exceeding well.* Rowe tells us, from the information of Betterton, who was inquisitive into this point, and had very early opportunities of inquiry

[4] It was observed in the former edition, that this place is not met with in Spelman's *Villare*, or in Adams's *Index*; nor, it might have been added, in the *first* and the *last* performance of this sort, Speed's *Tables*, and Whatley's *Gazetteer*: perhaps, however, it may be meant under the name of *Crandon*;—but the inquiry is of no importance.—It should, I think, be written *Credendon*; though better antiquaries than Aubrey have acquiesced in the vulgar corruption.

from Sir W. D'Avenant, that he was no *extraordinary actor;* and that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own *Hamlet.* Yet this *chef d'oeuvre* did not please: I will give you an original stroke at it. Dr. Lodge, who was for ever pestering the town with pamphlets, published in the year 1596, *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse, discovering the Devils incarnat of this Age,* 4to. One of these devils are *Hate-virtue,* or *Sorrow for another man's good successe,* who, says the Doctor, is "*a foule lubber,* and looks as pale as the visard of the Ghost, which cried so miserably at the theatre, like an oister-wife, *Hamlet revenge.*"[1] Thus you see Mr. Holt's supposed *proof,* in the Appendix to the late edition, that *Hamlet* was written after 1597, or perhaps 1602, will by no means hold good; whatever

[1] To this observation of Dr. Farmer it may be added, that the play of Hamlet was better known by this scene, than by any other. In Decker's *Satiromastix,* 1602, the following passage occurs:

"*Asinius.*

Would I were hang'd if I can call you any names but captain, and *Tucca.*"

"*Tucca.*

"No, fye; my name's *Hamlet Revenge:* thou hast been at Paris-Garden, hast thou not?"

Again, in *Westward Hoe,* by Decker and Webster, 1607:

"Let these husbands play *mad Hamlet, and cry, revenge!*"

STEEVENS.

Dr. Farmer's observation may be further confirmed by the following passage in an anonymous play, called *A Warning for faire Women,* 1599. We also learn from it the usual dress of the stage ghosts of that time:

"—— A filthie whining ghost,
"Lapt in some foule sheet, or a *leather pilch,*
"Comes screaming like a pigge half stickt,
"And cries *vindicta—revenge, revenge.*"

The leathern pilch, I suppose, was a theatrical substitute for armour. MALONE.

might be the case of the particular passage on which it is founded.

Nor does it appear, that Shakspeare did begin early to make *essays in dramatick poetry: The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, which hath so often been ascribed to him on the credit of Kirkman and Winstanley,[6] was written by George Peele; and Shakspeare is not met with, even as an *assistant*, till at least seven years afterward.[7]—Nash, in his *Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities*, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, 4to. *black letter*, recommends his friend, Peele, "as the chiefe supporter of pleasance now living, the Atlas of poetrie, and *primus verborum artifex*: whose first increase, *The Arraignment of Paris*, might plead to their opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention."[8]

[6] These people, who were the *Curls* of the last age, ascribe likewise to our author, those miserable performances, *Mucidorus*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

[7] Mr. Pope asserts, "The troublesome Raigne of *King John*," in two parts, 1611, to have been written by Shakspeare and Rowley:—which edition is a mere copy of another in black letter, 1511. But I find his assertion is somewhat to be doubted: for the old edition hath no name of *author* at all; and that of 1611, the initials only, *W. Sh.* in the title-page.*

[8] Peele seems to have been taken into the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland about 1593, to whom he dedicates in that year, "*The Honour of the Garter*, a poem gratulatorie—the *firstling* consecrated to his noble name."—"He was esteemed," says Anthony Wood, "a most noted poet, 1579: but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for *so it is*, and always *hath been*, that most POETS die *poor*, and consequently obscurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their graves. *Claruit* 1593." *Ath. Oxon.* Vol I. p. 300.

We had lately in a periodical pamphlet, called, *The Theatrical*

* See the *Essay on the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, Article, *King John*. MALONE.

In the next place, unfortunately, there is neither such a character as a *Constable* in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream:* nor was the *three hundred pounds* legacy to a *sister*, but a *daughter*.

And to close the whole, it is not possible, according to Aubrey himself, that Shakspeare could have been some *years a schoolmaster in the country:* on which circumstance only the supposition of his learning is professedly founded. He was not surely *very* young, when he was employed to *kill calves*, and commenced player about *eighteen!*—The truth is, that he left his father, for a wife, a year sooner; and had at least two children born at Stratford before he retired from thence to London. It is therefore sufficiently clear, that poor Anthony had too much reason for his character of Aubrey. You will find it in his own account of his life, published by Hearne, which I would earnestly recommend to any hypochondriack:

"A pretender to antiquities, roving, magotie-

Review, a very *curious* letter under the name of George Peele, to one Master Henrie Marle; relative to a dispute between Shakspeare and Alleyn, which was compromised by Ben Jonson.—"I never longed for thy companye more than last night; we were all verie merrie at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not scruple to affyrme pleasauntly to thy friende Will, that he had stolen hys speeche about the excellencie of acting in *Hamlet* hys tragedye, from conversaytions manifold, whych had passed between them, and opinions gyven by Alleyn touching that subject. Shakspeare did not take this talk in good sorte; but Jonson did put an end to the stryfe wyth wittielie saying, thys affaire needeth no contentione: you stole it from Ned no doubte: do not marvel: haue you not seene hym act tymes out of number?"—This is pretended to be printed from the original MS. dated 1600; which agrees well enough with Wood's *Claruit:* but unluckily, Peele was dead at least two years before. "As Anacreon died by the *pot*, says Meres, so George Peele by the *pox*." *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, p. 286.

headed, and sometimes little better than crased: and being exceedingly credulous, would stuff his many letters sent to A. W. with *folliries* and misinformations." P. 577.

Thus much for the learning of Shakspeare with respect to the ancient languages: indulge me with an observation or two on the supposed knowledge of the modern ones, and I will promise to release you.

"It is *evident*," we have been told, "that he was not unacquainted with the Italian:" but let us inquire into the *evidence*.

Certainly some Italian words and phrases appear in the works of Shakspeare; yet if we had nothing else to observe, their orthography might lead us to suspect them to be not of the writer's importation. But we can go further, and prove this.

When Pistol "cheers up himself with ends of verse," he is only a copy of Hanniball Gonsaga, who ranted on yielding himself a prisoner to an English captain in the Low Countries, as you may read in an old collection of tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*,[9]

> "Si fortuna me tormenta,
> "Il speranza me contenta."

And Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Sea, 1593, throws out the same jingling distich on the loss of his pinnace.

"Master Page, sit; good Master Page, sit; *Pro-*

[9] By one Anthony Copley, 4to. black letter: it seems to have had many editions, perhaps the last was in 1614.—The first piece of this sort, that I have met with, was printed by T. Berthelet, though not mentioned by Ames, called, "Tales, and quicke answeres very mery and pleasant to rede." 4to. no date.

face. What you want in meat, we'll have in drink," says Justice Shallow's *fac totum*, Davy, in the Second Part of *Henry IV.*

Proface, Sir Thomas Hanmer observes to be Italian, from *profaccia*, *much good may it do you.* Mr. Johnson rather thinks it a mistake for *perforce.* Sir Thomas however is right; yet it is no argument for his author's Italian knowledge.

Old Heywood, the epigrammatist, addressed his readers long before,

> " Readers, reade this thus: for preface, *proface*,
> " Much good do it you, the poore repast here," &c.
> *Woorkes*, Lond. 4to. 1562.

And Dekker in his play, *If it be not good, the Diuel is in it*, (which is certainly true, for it is full of devils,) makes Shackle-soule, in the character of Friar Rush, tempt his brethren with " choice of dishes,"

> " To which *proface*; with blythe lookes sit yee."

Nor hath it escaped the quibbling manner of the *Water-poet*, in the title of a poem prefixed to his *Praise of Hempseed:* " A Preamble, Preatrot, Preagallop, Preapace, or Preface; and *Proface*, my Masters, if your Stomacks serve."

But the editors are not contented without coining Italian. " *Rivo, says the drunkard,*" is an expression of the *madcap* Prince of Wales; which Sir Thomas Hanmer corrects to *Ribi, drink away*, or *again*, as it should be rather translated. Dr. Warburton accedes to this; and Mr. Johnson hath admitted it into his text; but with an observation, that *Rivo* might possibly be the cant of English taverns. And so indeed it was: it occurs frequently

in Marston. Take a quotation from his comedy of *What you will*, 1607:

> " Musicke, tobacco, sacke, and sleepe,
> " The tide of sorrow backward keep:
> " If thou art sad at others fate,
> " *Rivo*, drink deep, give care the mate."

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Boyet calls Don Armado,

> " —— A Spaniard that keeps here in court,
> " A phantasme, a *monarcho*.——"

Here too Sir Thomas is willing to palm Italian upon us. We should read, it seems, *mammuccio*, a mammet, or puppet: Ital. *Mammuccia*. But the allusion is to a fantastical *character* of the time.—" Popular applause," says Meres, " dooth nourish some, neither do they gape after any other thing, but vaine praise and glorie,—as in our age Peter Shakerlye of Paules, and MONARCHO that liued about the court." P. 178.

I fancy, you will be satisfied with one more instance.

" *Baccare*, You are marvellous forward," quoth Gremio to Petruchio in the *Taming of a Shrew*.

" But not so *forward*," says Mr. Theobald, " as our editors are *indolent*. This is a stupid corruption of the press, that none of them have dived into. We must read *Baccalare*, as Mr. Warburton acutely observed to me, by which the Italians mean, Thou ignorant, presumptuous man."—" Properly, indeed," adds Mr. Heath, " a *graduated* scholar, but ironically and sarcastically, a *pretender* to scholarship."

This is admitted by the editors and criticks of every denomination. Yet the word is neither wrong, nor Italian: it was an old proverbial one, used fre-

quently by John Heywood; who hath made, what he pleases to call, *epigrams* upon it.

Take two of them, such as they are:

> " *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his sow:
> " Went that sow *backe* at that biddyng trowe you?"
>
> " *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his sow: se
> " Mortimers sow speakth as good *latin* as he."

Howel takes this from Heywood in his *Old Sawes and Adages:* and Philpot introduces it into the Proverbs collected by Camden.

We have but few observations concerning Shakspeare's knowledge of the Spanish tongue. Dr. Grey indeed is willing to suppose, that the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* may be borrowed from a COMEDY of Lopes de Vega. But the Spaniard, who was certainly acquainted with Bandello, hath not only changed the catastrophe, but the names of the characters. Neither Romeo nor Juliet; neither Montague nor Capulet, appears in this performance: and how came they to the knowledge of Shakspeare?—Nothing is more certain, than that he chiefly followed the translation by Painter, from the French of Boisteau, and hence arise the deviations from Bandello's original Italian.[1] It seems,

[1] It is remarked, that " Paris, though in one place called *earl*, is most commonly styled the *countie* in this play. Shakspeare seems to have preferred, for some reason or other, the Italian *conte* to our *count:*—perhaps he took it from the old English novel, from which he is said to have taken his plot."—He certainly did so: Paris is there first styled *a young earle*, and afterward, *counte*, *countee*, and *countie:* according to the unsettled orthography of the time.

The word, however, is frequently met with in other writers; particularly in Fairfax:

however, from a passage in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, that Painter was not the only translator of this popular story: and it is possible therefore, that Shakspeare might have other assistance.

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Tinker attempts to talk Spanish: and *consequently* the author himself was acquainted with it.

> "*Paucas pallabris*, let the world slide, *sessa*."

But this is a burlesque on *Hieronymo;* the piece of bombast, that I have mentioned to you before:

> "What new device hath they devised, trow?
> "*Pocas pallabras*," &c.———

Mr. Whalley tells us, the author of this piece hath the happiness to be at this time unknown, the remembrance of him having perished with himself: Philips and others ascribe it to one William Smith: but I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written by Thomas Kyd; if he will accept the authority of his contemporary, Heywood.

More hath been said concerning Shakspeare's

> "As when a captaine doth besiege some hold,
> "Set in a marish or high on a hill,
> "And trieth waies and wiles a thousand fold,
> "To bring the piece subjected to his will:
> "So far'd the *countie* with the pagan bold." &c.
> *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, Book VII. st. 90.

"Fairfax," says Mr. Hume, "hath translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness, which for that age are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation." The former part of this character is extremely true: but the latter not quite so. In the book above quoted Tasso and Fairfax do not even agree in the number of *stanzas*.

acquaintance with the French language. In the play of *Henry V.* we have a whole scene in it, and in other places it occurs familiarly in the dialogue.

We may observe in general, that the early editions have not half the quantity; and every sentence, or rather every word most ridiculously blundered. These, for several reasons, could not possibly be published by the author;[2] and it is

[2] Every writer on Shakspeare hath expressed his astonishment, that his author was not solicitous to secure his fame by a correct edition of his performances. This matter is not understood. When a poet was connected with a particular playhouse, he constantly sold his works to the *Company*, and it was their interest to keep them from a number of rivals. A favourite piece, as Heywood informs us, only got into print, when it was copied *by the ear*, "for a double sale would bring on a suspicion of honestie." Shakspeare therefore himself published nothing in the drama: when he left the stage, his copies remained with his fellow-managers, Heminge and Condell; who at their own retirement, about seven years after the death of the author, gave the world the edition now known by the name of the *first folio*; and call the previous publications "stolne and surreptitious, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors." But *this* was printed from the playhouse copies; which in a series of years had been frequently altered, through convenience, caprice, or ignorance. We have a sufficient instance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Nash, called *Lenten Stuff, with the Prayse of the red Herring*, 4to. 1599, where he assures us, that in a play of his, called *The Isle of Dogs*, "*foure acts*, without his consent, or the leaste guesse of his drift or scope, were supplied by the players."

This, however, was not his first quarrel with them. In the Epistle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, which I have quoted before, Tom hath a lash at some "vaine glorious tragedians," and very plainly at Shakspeare in particular: which will serve for an answer to an observation of Mr. Pope, that had almost been forgotten: "It was thought a praise to Shakspeare, that he scarce ever blotted a line:—I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a praise by some."—But hear Nash, who was far from *praising*: "I leaue all these to the mercy of their *mother*-

extremely probable, that the French ribaldry was at first inserted by a different hand, as the many additions most certainly were after he had left the stage.—Indeed, every friend to his memory will not easily believe, that he was acquainted with the scene between Catharine and the old gentlewoman; or surely he would not have admitted such obscenity and nonsense.

Mr. Hawkins, in the Appendix to Mr. Johnson's edition, hath an ingenious observation to prove, that Shakspeare, supposing the French to be his, had very little knowledge of the language.

" Est-il impossible d'eschapper la force de ton

tongue, that feed on nought but the crums that fall from the *translator's* trencher.—That could scarcely *Latinize* their neck verse if they should haue neede, yet *English Seneca* read by candle-light yeelds many good sentences—hee will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say, *handfuls* of tragicall speeches."—I cannot determine exactly when this *Epistle* was first published; but, I fancy, it will carry the original *Hamlet* somewhat further back than we have hitherto done: and it may be observed, that the oldest copy now extant is said to be " enlarged to almost as much againe as it was." Gabriel Harvey printed at the end of the year 1592, *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnetts, especially touching Robert Greene:* in one of which his *Arcadia* is mentioned. Now Nash's Epistle must have been previous to these, as Gabriel is quoted in it with applause; and the *Foure Letters* were the beginning of a quarrel. Nash replied, in *Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Convoy of Verses, as they were going* privilie *to victual the Low Countries*, 1593. Harvey rejoined the same year in *Pierce's Supererogation, or a new Praise of the old Asse.* And Nash again, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up; containing a full Answer to the eldest Sonne of the Halter-maker*, 1596.

Dr. Lodge calls Nash our *true English Aretine:* and John Taylor in his *Kicksey-Winsey, or a Lerry Come-twang*, even makes an oath " by sweet satyricke Nashe his urne."—He died before 1600, as appears from an old comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus.*

bras?" says a Frenchman.—"*Brass*, cur?" replies Pistol.

"Almost any one knows, that the French word *bras* is pronounced *brau*; and what resemblance of sound does this bear to *brass?*"

Mr. Johnson makes a doubt, whether the pronunciation of the French language may not be changed, since Shakspeare's time, "if not," says he, "it may be suspected that some other man wrote the French scenes:" but this does not appear to be the case, at least in this termination, from the rules of the grammarians, or the practice of the poets. I am certain of the former from the *French Alphabeth* of De la Mothe,[3] and the *Orthoepia Gallica* of John Eliot;[4] and of the latter from the rhymes of Marot, Ronsard, and Du Bartas.—Connections of this kind were very common. Shakspeare himself assisted Ben Jonson in his *Sejanus*, as it was originally written; and Fletcher in his *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

But what if the French scene were occasionally introduced into every play on this subject? and perhaps there were more than one before our poet's—In *Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Deuill*, 4to. 1592, (which, it seems, from the Epistle to the Printer, was not in the first edition,) the author, Nash, exclaims, "What a glorious thing it is

[3] *Lond.* 1592, 8vo.

[4] *Lond.* 1593, 4to. Eliot is almost the only *witty* grammarian that I have had the fortune to meet with. In his Epistle prefatory to *The Gentle Doctors of Gaule*, he cries out for persecution, very like Jack in that most poignant of all Satires, the *Tale of a Tub*, "I pray you be readie quicklie to cauill at my booke, I beseech you heartily calumniate my doings with speede, I request you humbly controll my method as soone as you may, I earnestly entreat you hisse at my inventions," &c.

to have *Henry the Fifth* represented on the stage leading the *French King* prisoner, and forcing both him and the *Dolphin* to swear fealty!"—And it appears from the Jests of the famous comedian, Tarlton, 4to. 1611, that he had been particularly celebrated in the part of the Clown, in *Henry the Fifth;* but no such character exists in the play of Shakspeare. *Henry the Sixth* hath ever been doubted; and a passage in the above-quoted piece of Nash may give us reason to believe, it was previous to our author. "Howe would it haue joyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his toomb, he should triumph again on the stage; and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at seuerall times) who in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding."——I have no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the same author with *Edward the Third*, which hath been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's *Prolusions*.

It hath been observed, that the Giant of Rabelais is sometimes alluded to by Shakspeare: and in *his* time no translation was extant.—But the story was in every one's hand.

In a letter by one Laneham, or Langham, for the name is written differently,[5] concerning the entertainment at Killingwoorth Castle, printed 1575, we have a list of the vulgar romances of the age: "King Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, Friar Rous, Howleglass, and GARGANTUA." Meres[6]

[5] It is indeed of no importance, but I suspect the former to be right, as I find it corrupted afterward to *Lanam* and *Lanum*.

[6] This author by a pleasant mistake in some sensible *Conjectures on Shakspeare* lately printed at Oxford, is quoted by the name of

mentions him as equally hurtful to young minds with the *Four Sons of Aymon*, and the *Seven Champions*. And John Taylor had him likewise in his catalogue of *authors*, prefixed to *Sir Gregory Nonsence*.[7]

But to come to a conclusion, I will give you an irrefragable argument, that Shakspeare did *not* understand *two* very common words in the French and Latin languages.

According to the articles of agreement between the conqueror Henry and the king of France, the latter was to style the former, (in the corrected

Maister. Perhaps the title-page was imperfect; it runs thus: "Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury. Being the second part of Wits Commonwealth, By *Francis Meres Maister* of Artes of both Universities."

I am glad out of gratitude to this man, who hath been of frequent service to me, that I am enabled to perfect Wood's account of him; from the assistance of our *Master's* very accurate list of graduates, (which it would do honour to the university to print at the publick expense) and the kind information of a friend from the register of his parish:—He was originally of Pembroke-Hall, B. A. in 1587, and M. A. 1591. About 1602 he became rector of Wing in Rutland; and died there, 1646, in the 81st year of his age.

[7] I have quoted many pieces of John Taylor, but it was impossible to give their original dates. He may be traced as an author for more than half a century. His works were collected in folio, 1630, but many were printed afterward; I will mention one for the humour of the title: "Drinke and welcome, or the famous History of the most part of Drinkes in use in Greate Britaine and Ireland; with an especial Declaration of the Potency, Vertue, and Operation of our English Ale: with a description of all sorts of *Waters*, from the *Ocean Sea* to the *Tears of a Woman*, 4to. 1633." In *Wits Merriment, or Lusty Drollery*, 1656, we have an "Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the city of Glocester, and dyed in Phœnix Alley, in the 75 yeare of his age; you may find him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden churchyard," p. 130.—He died about two years before.

French of the former editions,) " Nostre *tres cher* filz Henry roy d' Angleterre; and in Latin, Præclarissimus filius," &c. " What," says Dr. Warburton, " is *tres cher* in French, *præclarissimus* in Latin! we should read *præcarissimus*."—This appears to be exceedingly true; but how came the blunder? it is a typographical one in Holinshed, which Shakspeare copied; but must indisputably have corrected, had he been acquainted with the languages.—" Our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write us in French in this maner: Nostre *tres chier* filz, Henry roy d'Engleterre—and in Latine in this maner, *Præclarissimus* filius noster." Edit. 1587, p. 574.

To corroborate this instance, let me observe to you, though it be nothing further to the purpose, that another error of the same kind hath been the source of a mistake in an historical passage of our author, which hath ridiculously troubled the criticks.

Richard the Third[8] harangues his army before the battle of Bosworth:

[8] Some inquiry hath been made for the first performers of the capital characters in Shakspeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roscius* of Camden, was the original *Richard*, from a passage in the poems of Bishop Corbet; who introduces his host at Bosworth describing the battle:

" But when he would have said King Richard died,
" And call'd *a horse, a horse*, he *Burbage* cried."

The play on this subject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and sometimes mistaken for Shakspeare's, was a Latin one, and written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our university, some years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Museum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

It is evident from a passage in Camden's *Annals*, that there

" Remember whom ye are to cope withal,
" A sort of vagabonds, of rascals, runaways—
" And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow
" Long kept in Britaine at *our mother's* cost,
" A milksop," &c.——

" *Our* mother," Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong, and Henry was somewhere secreted on the *continent:* he reads therefore, and all the editors after him,

" Long kept in Bretagne at *his* mother's cost."

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspeare had been there before me :——" Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprise.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milksop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." P. 756.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54; but his printer hath given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother;* as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare.[9]

was an old play likewise on the subject of *Richard the Second;* but I know not in what language. Sir Gelley Merrick, who was concerned in the harebrained business of the Earl of Essex, and was hanged for it with the ingenious Cuffe, in 1601, is accused amongst other things, " quod *exoletam* Tragœdiam de tragicâ abdicatione Regis Ricardi Secundi in publico theatro coram conjuratis datâ pecuniâ agi curasset."

[9] I cannot take my leave of Holinshed without clearing up a difficulty, which hath puzzled his biographers. Nicholson and other writers have *supposed* him a *clergyman.* Tanner goes

I hope, my good friend, you have by this time acquitted our great poet of all piratical depredations on the ancients, and are ready to receive my *conclusion*.—He remembered perhaps enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time,[1] or the course of his conversation, a familiar phrase or two of French or Italian: but his *studies* were most demonstratively confined to *nature* and *his own language*.

In the course of this disquisition, you have often smiled at "all such reading, as was never read;" and possibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading necessary for a comment on Shakspeare. Those who apply solely to the ancients for this purpose, may with equal wisdom study the TALMUD for an exposition of TRISTRAM SHANDY. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the

further, and tells us, that he was educated at Cambridge, and actually took the degree of M. A. in 1544. Yet it appears by his will, printed by Hearne, that at the end of life he was only a *steward* or a *servant* in some capacity or other, to Thomas Burdett, Esq. of Bromcote, in Warwickshire.—These things Dr. Campbell could not reconcile. The truth is, we have no claim to the education of the *Chronicler*: the M. A. in 1544, was not *Raphael*, but one *Ottiwell Holingshed*, who was afterward named by the founder one of the first Fellows of Trinity College.

[1] Ascham in the Epistle prefixed to his *Toxophilus*, 1571, observes of them, that "Manye Englishe writers, usinge straunge wordes, as *Lattine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones," says he, "I communed with a man which reasoned the Englishe tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, sayinge: Who will not prayse that feast, where a man shall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly (quoth I) they be al good, eury one taken by himselfe alone, but if you put Malmesye and sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drinke neither easye to be knowen, nor yet holsome for the bodye."

writers of the time, who are frequently of no other value, can point out his allusions, and ascertain his phraseology. The reformers of his text are for ever equally positive, and equally wrong. The cant of the age, a provincial expression, an obscure proverb, an obsolete custom, a hint at a person or a fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the best of our *guessers*: You must not suppose me to speak at random, when I assure you, that from some forgotten book or other, I can demonstrate this to you in many hundred places; and I almost wish, that I had not been persuaded into a different employment.

Though I have as much of the *natale solum*[2] about me, as any man whatsoever; yet, I own, the *primrose path* is still more pleasing than the *Fosse* or the *Watling Street*:

> "Age cannot wither it, nor custom stale
> "Its infinite variety.———"

And when I am fairly rid of the dust of topographical antiquity, which hath continued much longer about me than I expected; you may very probably be troubled again with the ever fruitful subject of SHAKSPEARE and his COMMENTATORS.

[2] This alludes to the intended publication of the *Antiquities of the Town of Leicester*. The work was just begun at the press, when the writer was called to the principal tuition of a large college, and was obliged to decline the undertaking. The plates, however, and some of the materials have been long ago put into the hands of a gentleman, who is every way qualified to make a proper use of them.

APPENDIX

TO

MR. COLMAN'S TRANSLATION OF TERENCE.

(OCTAVO EDITION.)

THE reverend and ingenious Mr. Farmer, in his curious and entertaining *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, having done me the honour to animadvert on some passages in the preface to this translation, I cannot dismiss this edition without declaring how far I coincide with that gentleman; although what I then threw out carelessly on the subject of this pamphlet was merely incidental, nor did I mean to enter the lists as a champion to defend either side of the question.

It is most true, as Mr. Farmer takes for granted, that I had never met with the old comedy called *The Supposes*, nor has it ever yet fallen into my hands; yet I am willing to grant, on Mr. Farmer's authority, that Shakspeare borrowed part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*, from that old translation of Ariosto's play by George Gascoign, and had no obligations to Plautus. I will accede also to the truth of Dr. Johnson's and Mr. Farmer's observation, that the line from Terence, exactly as it stands in Shakspeare, is extant in Lilly and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*. Still, however, Shak-

speare's total ignorance of the learned languages remains to be proved; for it must be granted, that such books are put into the hands of those who are learning those languages, in which class we must necessarily rank Shakspeare, or he could not even have quoted Terence from Udall or Lilly; nor is it likely, that so rapid a genius should not have made some further progress. "Our author," says Dr. Johnson, as quoted by Mr. Farmer, "had this line from Lilly; which I mention, that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning." It is, however, an argument that he read Lilly; and a few pages further it seems pretty certain, that the author of *The Taming of the Shrew* had at least read Ovid; from whose Epistle we find these lines:

> "Hàc ibat Simois: hic est Sigeïa tellus;
> "Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis."

And what does Dr. Johnson say on this occasion? Nothing. And what does Mr. Farmer say on this occasion? Nothing.[1]

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, which, bad as it is, is ascribed by Dr. Johnson himself to Shakspeare, there occurs the word *thrasonical;* another argument which seems to show that he was not unacquainted with the comedies of Terence; not to mention that the character of the schoolmaster in the same play could not possibly be written by a man who had travelled no further in Latin than *hic, hæc, hoc.*

[1] "Colman, in a note on his translation of Terence, talking of Shakspeare's Learning, asks, 'What says Farmer to this? What says Johnson?' Upon this he observed, 'Sir, let Farmer answer for himself: I never engaged in this controversy. I always said Shakspeare had Latin enough to grammaticise his English.'" Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, Vol. III. 204.

In *Henry the Sixth* we meet with a quotation from Virgil:

"Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?"

But this, it seems, proves nothing, any more than the lines from Terence and Ovid, in *The Taming of the Shrew*; for Mr. Farmer looks on Shakspeare's property in the comedy to be extremely disputable; and he has no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the same author with *Edward the Third*, which had been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's Prolusions.

If any play in the collection bears internal evidence of Shakspeare's hand, we may fairly give him *Timon of Athens*. In this play we have a familiar quotation from Horace:

"Ira furor brevis est."

I will not maintain but this hemistich may be found in Lilly or Udall; or that it is not in the *Palace of Pleasure*, or the *English Plutarch*; or that it was not originally foisted in by the players: it stands, however, in the play of *Timon of Athens*.

The world in general, and those who purpose to comment on Shakspeare in particular, will owe much to Mr. Farmer, whose researches into our old authors throw a lustre on many passages, the obscurity of which must else have been impenetrable. No future Upton or Gildon will go further than North's translation for Shakspeare's acquaintance with Plutarch, or balance between Dares Phrygius, and *The Troye Booke of Lydgate*. *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, in *black letter*, will for ever supersede *Saxo Grammaticus*; translated novels and ballads will, perhaps, be allowed the sources of

Romeo, *Lear*, and *The Merchant of Venice;* and Shakspeare himself, however unlike Bayes in other particulars, will stand convicted of having *transversed* the prose of Holinshed; and, at the same time, to prove "that his *studies* lay in his own language," the translations of Ovid are determined to be the production of Heywood.

"That his *studies* were most demonstratively confined to *nature*, and his *own language*," I readily allow: but does it hence follow that he was so deplorably ignorant of every other tongue, living or dead, that he only "remembered, perhaps, enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *hig*, *hag*, *hog*, into the mouth of Sir H. Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the course of his conversation, a familiar phrase or two of French or Italian." In Shakspeare's plays both these last languages are plentifully scattered; but, then we are told, they might be impertinent additions of the players. Undoubtedly they might: but there they are, and, perhaps, few of the players had much more learning than Shakspeare.

Mr. Farmer himself will allow that Shakspeare began to learn Latin: I will allow that his *studies* lay in English: but why insist that he neither made any progress at school; nor improved his acquisitions there? The general encomiums of Suckling, Denham, Milton, &c. on his *native genius*,[4] prove

[4] Mr. Farmer closes the general testimonies of Shakspeare's having been only indebted to nature, by saying, "He came out of her hand, *as some one else expresses it*, like Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature." It is whimsical enough, that this *some one else*, whose expression is here quoted to countenance the general notion of Shakspeare's want of literature, should be no other than myself. Mr. Farmer does not choose to mention where he met with the expression of *some one else:*

nothing; and Ben Jonson's celebrated charge of Shakspeare's *small Latin, and less Greek*,[5] seems absolutely to decide that he had *some* knowledge of both; and if we may judge by our own time, a man, who has any Greek, is seldom without a very competent share of Latin; and yet such a man is very likely to study Plutarch in English, and to read translations of Ovid.

See Dr. Farmer's reply to these remarks by Mr. Colman, in a note on LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST, *Act IV. sc. ii. Vol. VII. p.* 87.

and *some one else* does not choose to mention where he dropt it.*

[5] In defence of the various reading of this passage, given in the Preface to the last edition of Shakspeare, "small Latin and *no* Greek," Mr. Farmer tells us, that "it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright." Surely, Towers having said that Cartwright had *no* Greek, is no proof that Ben Jonson said so of Shakspeare.

* It will appear still more whimsical that this *some one else* whose expression is here quoted, may have his claim to it superseded by that of the late Dr. Young, who in his *Conjectures on Original Composition*, (p. 100, Vol. V. edit. 1773,) has the following sentence: "An adult genius comes out of nature's hands, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature. Shakspeare's genius was of this kind." Where *some one else* the *first* may have intermediately dropped the contested expression I cannot ascertain; but *some one else* the *second* transcribed it from the author already mentioned. ANON.

ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS

FROM

CLASSICK AUTHORS.[6]

HOMER.

TEN Bookes of Homer's Iliades translated out of French, by Arthur Hall, Esquire. At London. Imprinted by Ralph Newberie, 4to.[7] 1581

The Shield of Achilles from the 18th Book of Homer, by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. 1596

Seven Books of the Iliades, by ditto, 4to.[8] Lond. 1596

D°. — — — 1598

[6] This List was drawn up by Mr. Steevens. I have made a few inconsiderable additions to it, which are distinguished by this mark ‡. MALONE.

[7] In the first Vol. of the books of entries belonging to the Stationers' Company, is the following:

"Henry Bynneman.] Nov. 1580, lycensed unto him under the wardens' handes ten bookes of the Iliades of Homer." Again, "Samuel Macham.] Nov. 14, 1608. Seven bookes of Homer's Iliades translated into English by Geo. Chapman—[By assignment from Mr. Windett.]" Again, "Nathaniel Butter.] April 8, 1611, A booke called Homer's Iliades in Englishe, containing 24 Bookes." Again, "Nov. 2, 1614, Homer's Odisses 24 bookes, translated by George Chapman."

[8] Meres, in his *Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*, says that Chapman is "of good note for his inchoate Homer."

Thomas Drant, (the translator of two books of Horace's Satires, 1566,) in a miscellany of Latin poetry, entitled SYLVA, informs us, that he had begun to translate the *Iliad*, but had gone no further than the fourth Book.

‡ Homer Prince of Poets: translated according to the Greeke in Twelve Bookes of his Iliads: By Geo. Chapman; small folio. Lond. printed for Samuel Macham. *No date.*

[This, I believe, was published in 1609. There are several Sonnets at the end, addressed to different noblemen; among them one, "to the *Lord Treasurer*, the Earle of Salisbury." See also the entry below.]

Fifteen Books of D°. thin folio — 1600

[The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets. Neuer before in any languag truely translated, with a Coment uppon some of his chiefe places; Donne according to the Greeke. By George Chapman. At London, printed for Nathaniel Butter. William Hole sculp. [This edition contains the 24 Books.]

[At the back of the engraved title-page (for the Head of Chapman was not placed there, till the edition of 1614,) in Mr. Steevens's copy is the following inscription in the hand-writing of the Translator: "In wittness of his best Loue, borne to his best-deseruing freinde, Mr. Henrye Jones; Geo: Chapman giues him theise fruites of his best Labors, and desires Loue betwixt us, as longe-liu'd as Homer."]

[From the Stationers' Register it appears that this book, small folio, was printed in 1611. See note 7. The Prince of Wales, to whom the work is dedicated, died Nov. 6, 1612. In the republication (1614) it is inscribed, on an additional engraved frontispiece, to his *Memory*.]

The whole Works of Homer; Prince of Poetts. In his Iliads and Odysses. Translated according to the Greeke, by Geo. Chapman. De Ili: et Odiss:

Omnia ab his; et in his sunt omnia: sive beati
Te decor eloquii, seu rerū pondera tangunt.
Angel. Pol.

At London, printed for Nathaniell Butter. William Hole, sculp.
[This book was probably printed in 1614.]
The large head of Geo. Chapman is placed at the back of the engraved title-page.
The Crowne of all Homer's works, Batrachomymachia, &c. *[By Geo. Chapman, with his portrait by W. Pass, in the title-page.] thin folio; printed by John Bill. *No date.*
The strange wonderfull and bloudy Battel between Frogs and Mise; paraphrastically done into English Heroycall Verse, by W. F. (i. e. William Fowldes,) 4to. — — 1603

HESIOD.

The Georgicks of Hesiod, by George Chapman; Translated elaborately out of the Greek: Containing Doctrine of Husbandrie, Moralitie, and Pietie; with a perpetual Calendar of Good and Bad Daies; Not superstitious, but necessarie (as farre as naturall Causes compell) for all men to observe, and difference in following their affaires. *Nec caret umbra Deo.* London, Printed by H. L. for Miles Partrich, and are to be solde at his Shop neare Saint Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet. — 1618
[This title-page is given at full length, because the existence of the book it belongs to (which

* In the first Volume of the Entries of the Stationers' Company is the following:
"T. Purfoote.] The Battel of the Frogges and Myce, and certain orations of Isocrates." Jan. 4, 1579.

is in Mr. Steevens's possession) has been questioned by the late Mr. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 446.]

MUSÆUS.

Marlowe's Hero and Leander, with the first Book of Lucan, 4to. — — 1600

There must have been a former Edition,[1] *as a second Part was published by Henry Petowe,* 1598

Musæus's Poem of Hero and Leander, imitated by Christopher Marlow, and finished by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. — 1606

EURIPIDES.

Jocasta, a tragedy, from the Phœnissæ of Euripides,

[1] This translation, or at least Marlowe's part in it, must have been published before 1599, being twice mentioned in Nash's *Lenten Stuff*, &c. which bears that date. "*Leander* and *Hero*, of whom divine *Musæus* sung, and a diviner muse than him, *Kit Marlow*." Again, "She sprung after him, and so resigned up her priesthood, and left worke for *Musæus* and *Kit Marlow*."

Among the entries at Stationers' Hall I find the following made by John Wolfe in 1593, Sept. 8th. "A booke entitled Hero and Leander, being an amorous poem devised by Christopher Marlow."

At the same time, "Lucan's first book of the famous Cyvill Warr betwixt Pompey and Cæsar. Englished by Christopher Marlow."

Again, in 1597, "A booke in English called Hero and Leander."

Again, April 1598, "The seconde Parte of Hero and Leander by Henry Petowe." Andrew Harris entered it.

Again, in 1600, "Hero and Leander by Marlowe."

In 1614 an entire translation of Lucan was published by Sir Arthur Gorges, and entered as such on the same books.

by Geo. Gascoigne, and Mr. Francis Kinwelmershe, 4to. Lond. — — 1556

PLATO.

Axiochus, a Dialogue, attributed to Plato, by Edm. Spenser, 4to.[a] — — 1592

DEMOSTHENES.

The three Orations of Demosthenes, chiefe Orator among the Grecians, in favour of the Olynthians, with those his fower against Philip of Macedon, &c. by Tho. Wylson, Doctor of the Civill Lawes, 4to. — — 1570

ISOCRATES.

Isocrates's sage admonition to Demonicus, by R. Nutthall, 8vo. Lond. 1557, 12mo. and 1585

Isocrates's Doctrinal of Princes, by Syr Tho. Elliot, Lond. 8vo. — — 1534

Isocrates's Orat. intitled Evagoras, by Jer. Wolfe, 8vo. — — 1581

Three Orations of moral Instructions, one to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, King of Salamis, translated from Isocrates, by Tho. Forrest, 4to. 1580

LUCIAN.

Necromantia, a Dialog of the Poete Lucyen betweene Menippus and Philonides, for his Fantesye faynd for a mery Pastyme, in English Verse and Latin Prose.

[a] This book was entered in May, 1592, at Stationers' Hall.

Toxaris, or the Friendship of Lucian, by A. O. Lond. 8vo. — — 1565

HERODOTUS.

The famous Hystory of Herodotus,[3] in nine Bookes &c. by B. R. Lond. — 1584

N. B. *This Piece contains only the two first Books, viz. the Clio and Euterpe. The Translator says in his Preface,* "*As these speede, so the rest will follow.*" 4to.

THUCYDIDES.

The Historywrittone by Thucydides, &c. translated out of the Frenche of Claude de Seyssel, Bishop of Marseilles, into the Englishe language, by Tho. Nicolls, Citizeine and Goldsmyth of London, fol. — — 1550[4]

POLYBIUS.

Hystories of the most famous and worthy Chronographer, Polybius, by Christopher Watson, 8vo. 1568

This Work consists of extracts only.

[3] Among the entries in the books at Stationers' Hall this appears to be one:

"John Denham.] The famous Historye of Herodotus in Englyshe, June 13, 1581."

[4] On the Stationers' books in 1607 either this or some other translation is entered, called "The History of Thucidides the Athenian translated into English."

DIODORUS SICULUS.[5]

The History of the Successors of Alexander, &c. out of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, by Tho. Stocker. Lond. 4to. — 1569

APPIAN.

An aunciente Hystorie, &c. by Appian[6] of Alexandria, translated out of diverse Languages, &c. by W. B. 4to. Lond. — 1578

JOSEPHUS.

Josephus's History, &c. translated into English, by Tho. Lodge, fol. Lond. 1602—1609, &c.

ÆLIAN.

Ælian's Registre of Hystories, by Abraham Fleming, 4to. — — 1576

HERODIAN.

The Historie of Herodian, &c. transl. oute of Greeke into Latin, by Angelus Politianus, and out of Latin into Englyshe, by Nych. Smyth.

[5] Caxton tells us, that "Skelton had translated *Diodorus Siculus, the Epistles of Tulle*, and diverse other Workes:" but I know not that they were ever printed.

[6] In the first Volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 5, 1577, is the following:

"Henry Binneman.] Appianus Alexandrinus of the Romaine Civill Warres."

Imprinted at London, by William Copland, 4to.[7]

PLUTARCH.

Plutarch's Lives,[8] by Sir Tho. North, from the Fr. of Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, fol. 1579, 1602, 1603

Plutarch's Morals, by Dr. Philemon Holland, 1603[9]

Plutarch of the Education of Children, by Sir Tho. Elyott, 4to.

The Preceptes of that excellent Clerke and grave Philosopher, Plutarche, for the Preservation of Healthe, 8vo. — — 1543

ARISTOTLE.

The Ethiques of Aristotle, &c. by John Wylkinson. Printed by Grafton, Printer to King Edw. VI. 8vo. B. L. — 1547[1]

The Secrete of Secretes of Aristotle, &c. translated out of the Frenche, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1528

[7] Oct. 1591, *Herodian in English* was entered at Stationers' Hall by —— Adams.

[8] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company: "April 1579—Vautrouller—Wright, a booke in Englishe called Plutarch's Lyves."

[9] On the Stationers' books in the year 1600 is the following entry: "A booke to be translated out of French into Englishe, and so printed, called the Morall Woorkes of Plutarque." Again, in 1602. Again, in the same year, "The moral worke of Plutarque, being translated out of French into English."

[1] Of the *Ethicks of Aristotle* some more early translation must have appeared; as Sir Tho. Elyot, in his *Boke named the Governour*, 1537, says, "they are to be learned in Greke: for *the translations that we have*, be but a rude and grosse shadowe of the eloquence and wysdome of Aristotle."

Aristotle's Politiques, &c.[2] from the Fr. by J. D. fol. Lond. — — — 1598

XENOPHON.

The eight Bookes of Xenophon, containing the Institution, Schole, and Education of Cyrus, the noble King of Persye, &c. transl. out of Gr. into Engl. by Mr. William Bercher, Lond. 12mo. — — 1567 and 1569

D°. by Dr. Philemon Holland.

Xenophon's Treatise of House-hold, right connyngly transl. out of the Greke tongue, &c. by Gentian Hervet, &c. 8vo. Lond.
1532, 8vo. 1534
1544, 8vo. 1573

The Arte of Riding from Xenophon, &c. Lond. 4to. — — — 1584

EPICTETUS.[3]

The Manuell of Epictetus, transl. out of Greeke into French, and now into English, &c. Also the Apothegmes, &c. by James Sandford, Lond. 12mo. — — 1567

CEBES.

The Table of Cebes, the Philosopher. How one may take profite of his ennemies. Translated out of Plutarche.

[2] This translation is entered in the books at Stationers' Hall. "Adam Islip.] Aristotle's Politiques with expositions; to be translated into Englishe by the French copie, 1598."

[3] In the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 12, 1581, Tho. Easte entered Enchiridon in English.

A Treatise perswadyng a man paciently to suffer the Death of a Freend. Imprynted at London, in Fletestreete by Thomas Berthelet.

EUNAPIUS SARDIANUS.[4]

The Lyves of Philosophers and Orators, from the Greek of Eunapius, 4to. — 1579

ACHILLES TATIUS.

The most delectable and pleasant Hist. of Clitophon and Leucippe, from the Greek of Achilles Tatius, &c. by W. B. 4to. — 1597[5]

M. ANTONINUS.[6]

The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and eloquent Orator, 12mo. Lond. 1553
Translated out of Fr. into Eng. by Sir John Bourchier, Kt. &c. &c.

[4] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company. "Richard Jones.] The Lives of divers excellent Orators and Philosophers written in Greeke by Enapius of the city of Sardis in Lydia, and translated into Englishe by ———."

[5] This book was entered in the same year by Thomas Creede, on the books of the Stationers' Company.

[6] This book is only introduced, that an opportunity may be obtained of excluding it from any future catalogue of translated classicks. It was a fraud of Guevara's, but not undetected; for Chapman, in his *Gentleman Usher*, 1602, speaks of the book as *Guevara's* own. "If there be not more choice words in that letter, than in any three of *Guevara's Golden Epistles*, I am a very ass." See his article in Bayle. Our countryman Elyott did somewhat of the same kind. He pretended to translate the Actes and Sentences notable, of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* (from the Greek of Encolpius). See Fabricius' and Tanner's *Bibliothec.* &c.

Other editions of this are in 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1559, 1586, 1588.

DIONYSIUS.

Dionysius's Description of the Worlde. Englyshed by Tho. Twyne, 8vo. Lond. — 1572

EUCLID.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry, transl. into Engl. by Rich. Candish who flourished, A. D. 1556
Euclid's Elements, Pref. by John Dee, Lond. 1570

HIPPOCRATES.

The Aphorismes of Hippocrates, redacted into a certaine Order, and translated by Humfrie Llhuyd, 8vo. — — 1585
See Granger's *Biographical History*, Vol. I. p. 270.

GALEN.

Galen's Two Books of Elements, translated into Engl. by J. Jones, 4to. Lond. — 1574
Certayne Workes of Galen, englyshed by Tho. Gale, 4to. — — — 1586

HELIODORUS.

The Beginning of Æthiopical History in Engl. Hexameters, by Abrah. Fraunce, 8vo. Lond. 1591[7]
Heliodorus's Æthiopic Hist. transl. by Tho. Underdown, B. L. 4to. Lond. 1577 and 1587

[7] A translation of the same book is likewise entered at Stationers' Hall, 1602, and again twice in 1604, for different printers.

ÆSOP.

Esop's Fables in true Orthography, with Grammar notes, translated out of the Latin by William Bullaker, B. L. 8vo. — — 1585

VIRGIL.

The Boke of Eneydos, &c. by Caxton, fol. Lond. *prose* — — — 1490

The thirteen Bukes of Eneados in Scottish Metir, by Gawin Douglas, 4to. Lond. 1553

Certaine Bookes of Virgiles Æneis[8] turned into English Metir, by the right honourable Lorde, Henry Earle of Surrey, 4to. Lond. 1557

The first seven Bookes of the Eneidos, by Phaer, Lond. 4to. B. L. — — 1558

This Translation is in rhyme of fourteen syllables.

The nine first Bookes, &c. by Phaer,[9] 4to. Lond. 1562

[8] This is a translation of the second and fourth books into blank verse, and is perhaps the oldest specimen of that metre in the English language.

[9] The following "Epytaphe of Maister Thomas Phayre," is found in a very scarce book entitled "Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes. Newly written by *Barnabe Googe*, 1563, 15 Marche. Imprynted at London by Thomas Colwell, for Raffe Newbery, dwelyng in Fletestrete a little aboue the Conduit in the late shop of Thomas Bartelet."

"The hawtye verse y^t *Maro* wrote
"made Rome to wonder muche,
"And meruayle none, for why the style
"And weightynes was suche,
"That all men iudged *Parnassus* mownt
"had clefte her selfe in twayne,
"And brought forth one that seemd to drop
"from out *Mineruaies* brayne.

The thirteene Bookes of Eneidos, by Phaer and Twine, 4to. Lond. 1584, 1596, 1607, &c.[1]

The first four Bookes of Virgil's Æneis, translated into Engl. heroic Verse, by Richard Stanyhurst,[2] &c. 12mo. Lond. — — 1583

The Bucolickes of Publius Virgilius Maro, &c. by

" But wonder more maye Bryttayne great
" wher *Phayre* did florysh late,
" And barreyne tong with swete accord
" reduced to such estate:
" That *Virgils* verse hath greater grace
" in forrayne foote obtaynde,
" Than in his own, who whilst he lyued
" eche other poets staynde.
" The noble H. *Hawarde* once,
" That raught eternall fame,
" With mighty style did bryng a pece
" of *Virgils* worke in frame,
" And *Grimaold* gaue the lyke attempt,
" and *Douglas* wan the ball,
" Whose famouse wyt in Scottysh ryme
" had made an ende of all.
" But all these same dyd *Phayre* excell
" I dare presume to wryte,
" As muche as doth *Apolloes* beames
" the dymmest starre in lyght.
" The enuyous fates (O pytie great)
" had great disdayne to se
" That us amongst there shuld remayn
" so fyne a wyt as he:
" And in the midst of all his toyle
" dyd force him hence to wende,
" And leaue a worke unperfyt so
" that never man shall ende."

[1] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, is the following. " Tho. Creede] Virgil's Æneidos in Englishe verse, 1595." Again, in 1600. Again, his Bucolics and Georgics in the same year.

[2] The copy which I have seen, was in 4to. printed at Leiden, and was entered as such on the books of the Stationers' on the 24th of January, 1582.

Abraham Fleming, drawn into plaine and familiar Englyshe, Verse for Verse, 4to. B. L. 1575

The two first Eclogues of Virgil. By W. Webbe; inserted in his Discourse of Englysh Poetrie. 1586

Virgil's Eclogues and Georgicks, translated into blank Verse by the same Author, Lond. 1589

The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis, Verse for Verse, out of Latine.

This is translated into English Hexameters, and printed at the end of the Countesse of Pembroke's Ivychurch, 1591. *By Abraham Fraunce*, 4to. *bl. l.*

Virgil's Culex paraphrased, by Spenser. See his works.

HORACE.

The fyrst twoo Satars or poyses of Orace, Englished, by Lewes Euans, schole-master. 1564

Two Bookes of Horace his Satyres Englyshed, accordyng to the Prescription of Saint Hierome, 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1566

Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles[3] and Satyrs Englished, by Tho. Drant, 4to. Lond. 1567

Horace's Art of Poetry was also translated loosely into prose by W. Webbe, together with Epistles *ad Mecænatem* &c. in his Discourse of English Poetrie — — — 1586

OVID.

The fifteene Bookes of Metamorphoseos. In which

[3] There is an entry at Stationers' Hall of the Epistles of Horace in 1591.

ben contaynid the Fables of Ovid, by William Caxton, Westm. fol. — — 1480

The four first Books of Ovid, transl. from the Latin into English Meetre, by Arthur Golding, Gent. 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1565

‡The fifteen Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, &c. by Arthur Golding, 4to. Bl. L. Lond. 1567

D°. — — — — 1576

[*Another in* 1575 *according to Ames. A former Edition was in* 1572, *in Rawlinson's catal.*

D°. — — 1587, D°. 1612

The pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, 8vo. Lond. — — 1565

The Fable of Ovid treating of Narcissus, transl. out of Latin into Engl. Mytre, with a Moral ther unto very plesant to rede, 4to. Lond. 1590

The Heroycall Epistles, &c. set out and translated by Geo. Turbervile, Gent. &c. B. L. 12mo. Lond.[4] — 1567, 1569, and 1600

The three first Bookes of Ovid de Tristibus, transl. into English, by Tho. Churchyard, 4to. Lond. 1580[5]

Ovid his Invective against Ibis, translated into Eng. Meeter, &c. 12mo. Lond. — 1569[6]

And, by Tho. Underwood — 1577

Certaine of Ovid's Elegies by C. Marlow,[7] 12mo. At Middleburgh. — — *no date.*

[4] Among the Stationers' entries I find in 1594, "A booke entitled *Oenone and Paris*, wherein is described the extremity of love," &c. This may be a translation from Ovid.

[5] This book was entered at Stationers' Hall by Tho. Easte, July 1, 1577, and by Thomas Orwin in 1591.

[6] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following: "Henry Bynneman.] July 1, 1577, *Ovid's Invective against Ibis.* Bought of Thomas Easte."

[7] In the forty-first of Queen Elizabeth these translations from

All Ovid's Elegies, three Bookes. By C. M. At Middleburgh, 12mo. Somewhat larger than the preceding edition.

‡Ovidius Naso, his Remedy of love, translated and entituled to the youth of England, 4to. 1600

Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, by Fra. Beaumont, 4to. — — — 1602

He likewise translated a Part of the Remedy of Love. *There was another Translation of the whole, by Sir Tho. Overbury, 8vo. without date.*[8]

"I learn, (says the Rev. Tho. Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 415,) from Coxeter's notes, that the FASTI were translated into English verse before the year 1570."

PLAUTUS.

Menæchmi, by W. W. Lond.[9] — 1595

MARTIAL.

Flowers of Epigrams (from Martial particularly) by Tim. Kendall, 8vo.[1] — 1577

TERENCE.

Terens in Englysh, or the translacyon out of Latin

Ovid were commanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to be burnt at Stationers' Hall.

[8] On the books of the Stationers' Company, Dec. 23, 1599, is entered, *Ovidius Naso his Remedy of Love.* Again, in the same year, *Ovydes Epistles in Englishe*, and *Ovydes Metamorphosis in Englyshe.*

[9] This piece was entered at Stationers' Hall June 10th, 1594. In 1520, viz. the 11th year of Henry VIII. it appears from Holinshed that a comedy of Plautus was played before the King.

[1] Entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 1576.

into English of the first comedy of Tyrens callyd Andria. *Supposed to be printed by J. Rastell.*[a]

[a] As the following metrical introduction to this play, relates chiefly to the improvements at that time supposed to have been made in the English language, I could not prevail on myself to suppress it:

THE POET.

" The famous renown through the worlde is sprong
" Of poetys ornate that usyd to indyte
" Of dyvers matters in theyr moder tong
" Some toke upon them translacions to wryte
" Some to compile bokys for theyr delyte
" But in our English tong for to speke playn
" I rede but of few have take any gret payn.

" Except master Gowre which furst began
" And of moralite wrote ryght craftely
" Than master Chaucer that excellent man
" Which wrote as compendious as elygantly
" As in any other tong ever dyd any
" Ludgate also which adournyd our tong
" Whose noble famys through the world be sprong.

" By these men our tong is amplyfyed so,
" That we therin now translate as well as may
" As in eny other tongis other can do.
" Yet the Greke tong and Laten dyvers men say
" Have many wordys can not be Englyshid this day
" So lyke wyse in Englysh many wordys do habound
" That no Greke nor Laten for them can be found.

" And the cause that our tong is so plenteouse now
" For we kepe our Englysh contynually
" And of other tongis many wordis we borow
" Which now for Englysh we use and occupy
" These thingis have given corage gretly
" To dyvers and specyally now of late
" To them that this comedy have translate.

" Which all discrete men now do besech
" And specyally lernyd men to take no dysdayn
" Though this be compylyd in our vulgare spech
" Yet learnyng thereby some men may attayn
" For they that in this comedy have take payn

Andria, the first Comedy of Terence, by Maurice Kyffin, 4to. — — 1588
Terence in English, by Richard Bernard, 4to. Cambridge.[3] — — — 1598
Flowers of Terence. — — 1591

SENECA.

Seneca his Tenne Tragedies,[4] translated into Englysh by different Translators, 4to. Lond. 1581
A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, named

> " Pray you to correct where faut shall be found
> " And of our matter so here is the ground."

In the metrical peroration to this piece, is the following stanza:

> " Wherfore the translatours now require you this
> " Yf ought be amys ye wold consyder
> " The Englysh almost as short as the Latten is
> " And still to kepe ryme a dyffycult matter
> " To make the sentence opynly to appere
> " Which if it had a long expocysion
> " Then were it a comment and no translacyon."

[3] At Stationers' Hall in 1597, " the second comedy of Terence, called *Eunuchus*," was entered by W. Leake; and the first and second comedie in 1600.

[4] In the first volume of the entries of the Stationers' Company, Aug. 1579, Rich. Jones and John Charlewood entered the 4th tragedie of Seneca. And again all the ten in 1581.

" It is remarkable" says Mr. Warton, (*History of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 393,) " that Shakspeare has borrowed nothing from the English Seneca. Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakspeare was only a reader by accident. Holinshed and translated Italian novels supplied most of his plots or stories. His storehouse of learned history was North's Plutarch. The only poetical fable of antiquity, which he has worked into a play, is *Troilus*. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and English history were his principal resources. These perhaps were more suitable to his taste: at least he found that they produced the most popular subjects. Shakspeare was above the bondage of the classicks."

the Forme and Rule of Honest Lyvynge, both in the Latin tongue and the Englyshe, lately translated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and now newlye imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — — 1546

A frutefull Worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, called the Myrrour or Glasse of Maners and Wysedome, both in Latin and Englyshe, lately translated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and nowe newely imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Middleton. — — 1547

Lucii Annei Senecæ ad Gallionem de Remediis Fortuitorum. The remedyes against all casuall chaunces. Dialogus inter Sensum et Rationem. A Dialogue between Sensualyte and Reason. Lately Translated out of Latyne into Englyshe, by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate, and now newely imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — — 1547

Seven Bookes of Benefyting,[5] by Arthur Golding, 4to. — — — 1577

LUCAN.

Lucan's First Booke, translated line for line, by Chr. Marlow, 4to. Lond. Printed by P. Short for Walter Burre. — 1593, and 1600

LIVY.

Livius (Titus[6]) and other Authores Historie of

[5] In the first volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following: "March 26, 1579, *Seneca de Beneficiis* in Englyshe."

[6] In the first volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, anno 1597, is the following note: "Memo-

Annibal and Scippio, translated into English, by Anthony Cope, Esquier, B. L. 4to. Lond. 1545

The Romane Hist. &c. by T. Livius of Padua. Also the Breviaries of L. Florus, &c. by D. Philemon Holland, fol. Lond. 1600

TACITUS.

The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba. Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola, by Sir Hen. Saville, 4to. Lond. — — — 1591

Annales of Tacitus, by Richard Grenaway, fol. 1598

SALLUST.[7]

The Famous Cronycle of the Warre, which the Romyns had against Jugurth, &c. compyled in Lat. by the renowned Romayn Sallust, &c. translated into Englishe, by Sir Alex. Barclay Preest, &c. Printed by Pynson, fol.

D°.

Lond. pr. by Joh. Waley, 4to. — 1557

The Conspiracie of Lucius Catiline, translated into Eng. by Tho. Paynell, 4to. Lond. 1541 and 1557

The two most Worthy and Notable Histories, &c.

randum that Mr. Alexander Nevill, Gent. is appointed to translate *Titus Livius* into the Englyshe tongue: expressed, the same is not to be printed, by anie man, but only such as shall have his translacion." Again, in 1598, *The History of Titus Livius* was entered by Adam Islip.

[7] A translation of Sallust was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1588. Again in 1607, *The Historie of Sallust in Englishe.*

Both written by C. C. Sallustius, and translated by Tho. Heywood, Lond. sm. fol. 1608

SUETONIUS.

Suetonius, translated by Dr. Phil. Holland, fol. Lond. — — — 1606[8]

CÆSAR.[9]

Ceasers Commentaries, as touching British affairs. Without name, printer, place, or date; but by the type it appears to be Rastell's.
Ames, p. 148.

The eight Bookes of Caius Julius Cæsar, translated by Arthur Golding, Gent. 4to. Lond. 1565 and 1590

Cæsar's Commentaries (de Bello Gallico) five Bookes, by Clement Edmundes, with observations, &c. Fol. — — 1600

De Bello Civili, by D°. three Bokes, Fol. 1609

D°. by Chapman. — — 1604

JUSTIN.

The Hist. of Justine, &c. by A. G. [Arthur Golding] Lond. 4to. — 1564 and 1578

D°. by Dr. Phil. Holland. — 1606

D°. by G. W. with an Epitomie of the Lives, &c. of the Romaine Emperors, from Aurelius Victor, fol. — — 1606

[8] This translation was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1604.

[9] In the entries made in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following:

"John Charlewood] Sept. 1581, *Abstracte of the Historie of Cæsar and Pompeius.*"

Q. CURTIUS.

The Historie of Quintus Curtius, &c. translated, &c. by John Brende, 8vo. Lond. — 1543
Other Editions were in 1561, 1570, 1584, 1592[1]

EUTROPIUS.

Eutropius englished, by Nic. Haward, 8vo. 1564

A. MARCELLINUS.

Ammianus Marcellinus, translated by Dr. P. Holland, Lond. fol. — — 1609

CICERO.

Cicero's Familiar Epistles by J. Webbe, sm. 8vo. *no date*
Certain select Epistles into English, by Abraham Flemming, 4to. Lond. — 1576
Those Fyve Questions which Marke Tullye Cicero disputed in his Manor of Tusculanum, &c. &c. Englyshed by John Dolman, sm. 8vo. Lond. 1561
The Booke of Freendship of Marcus Tullie Cicero. 12mo. Anno Domini — 1550
Imprinted at London in Fletestreete in the hous of Tho. Berthelette.
Dedicated to Katharine Duchesse of Suffolke, by John Harrynton.
Translated, as it appears, by him from the French while in prison.
[2]Marcus Tullius Cicero, three Bookes of Duties,

[1] In the Stationers' books this or some other translation of the same author was entered by Richard Tottell, Feb. 1582, and again by Tho. Creede, &c. 1599.

[2] Mattaire says [Ann. Typog. B. 290] "in florulentâ tituli

tourned out of Latin into English, by Nic. Grimalde.[3] 1555, 1556, 1558, 1574.

Ames says 1553; *perhaps by mistake.*

The thre Bokes of Tullius Offyce, &c. translated,

margunculâ (vulgo vignette) superiore, inscribitur 1534." This was a wooden block used by the printer Tottel, for many books in small 8vo. and by no means determines their date. There may, however, have been some earlier translation than any here enumerated, as in Sir Tho. Elyot's *Boke named the Governour*, 1537, is mentioned "the worke of Cicero, called in Latine *De Officiis*, whereunto yet is no *propre* English worde," &c.

[3] An Epytaphe of the death of Nicolas Grimaold. [Among Barnaby Googe's Poems already mentioned.]

"Behold this fletyng world how al things fade
"Howe eury thyng doth passe and weare awaye,
"Eche state of lyfe by comon course and trade
"Abydes no tyme, but hath a passyng daye.

"For looke as lyfe that pleasaunt dame hath brought
"The pleasaunt yeares and dayes of lustynes,
"So death our foe consumeth all to nought,
"Enuying these with darte doth us oppresse.

"And that whiche is the greatest gryfe of all,
"The gredye grype doth no estate respect,
"But where he comes he makes them down to fall,
"Ne stayes he at the hie sharpe wytted sect.

"For yf that wyt or worthy eloquens
"Or learnyng deape could moue hym to forbeare,
"O *Grimaold* then thou hadste not yet gon hence,
"But heare hadst sene full many an aged yeare.

"Ne had the muses loste so fyne a floure,
"Nor had *Minerva* wept to leave the so:
"If wysdome myght haue fled the fatall howre
"Thou hadste not yet ben suffred for to go.

"A thousande doltysh geese we myght have sparde,
"A thousande wytles heads death might have found.
"And taken them for whom no man had carde,
"And layde them lowe in deepe obliuious grounde.
"But fortune fauours fooles as old men saye,
"And lets them lyve, and takes the wyse awaye."

&c. by R. Whyttington, Poet Laureate, 12mo. Lond. 1533, 1534, 1540, and 1553[4]

The boke of Tulle of Old Age, translated by Will. Wyrcestre, alias Botaner. Caxton, 4to.[5] 1481

De Senectute, by Whyttington, 8vo. *no date*

An Epistle or letter of exhortation, written in Latyne by Marcus Tullius Cicero, to his brother Quintus, the Proconsul or Deputy of Asia, wherein the office of a magistrate is cunningly and wisely described; translated into Englyshe by G. G. set forth and authorised according to the Queenes Majesties Injunctions. Prynted at London by Rouland Hall, dwelling in Golding Lane, at the sygne of the three arrows, small 8vo. — — — 1561

The worthie Booke of Old Age, otherwise intitled The elder Cato, &c. 12mo.** Lond. 1569

Tullius Cicero on Old Age, by Tho. Newton, 8vo.** Lond. — — — 1569

Tullius Friendship, Olde Age, Paradoxe, and Scipio's Dream, by Tho. Newton, 4to. 1577

Tullius de Amicitia, translated into our maternal Englyshe Tongue, by W. of Worcester. Printed by Caxton, with the translation of *De Senectute*, fol.

The Paradoxe of M. T. Cicero, &c. by Rob. Whyt-

[4] In the books belonging to Stationers' Hall, *Tullies Offices in Latin and English* is entered Feb. 1582, for R. Tottell. Again, by Tho. Orwin, 1591.

[5] In the *Itinerarium* of W. de Worcestre, p. 368, is the following notice of this book: "1473, die 10 Augusti presentavi W. episcopo Wyntoniensi apud Asher librum Tullii de Senectute per me translatum in Anglicis, sed nullum regardum recepi de Episcopo."

** These are perhaps the same as the two foregoing translations.

tington, Poet Laureat. Printed in Southwarke, 12mo. — — 1540

Webbe translated all the sixteen Books of Cicero's Epistles, but probably they were not printed together in Shakspeare's Life-time. I suppose this, from a Passage in his Dedication.

In 1571 Drant published—*Marcus Tullius Cicero for the Poet Archias.* See Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 431.

BOETHIUS.

Boethius, by Chaucer. Printed by Caxton, fol.

Boethius in English Verse, by Tho. Rychard. Imprinted in the exempt monastery of Tavistock, 4to. — — — 1525

Eng. and Lat. by Geo. Colville, 4to. 1556[6]

APULEIUS.

Apuleius's Golden Asse, translated into Eng. by Wm. Adlington, 4to. Lond. 1566 and 1571[7]

FRONTINUS.

Stratagemes, Sleightes, and Policies of Warre, gathered by S. Julius Frontinus. Translated by Richard Morisine, 8vo. Printed by Tho. Berthelet. — — — 1539

[6] In the Stationers' books, Jan. 13th, 1608, Matthew Lownes entered "*Anitius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius*, a Christian Consul of Rome, newly translated out of Latin, together with original Notes explaining the obscurest Places." Printed 8vo. 1609.

[7] There is an entry of this translation in the books at Stationers' Hall in 1595. Valentine Simes is the name of the printer who entered it. It is again entered by Clement Knight in 1600.

PLINY JUN^r.

Some select Epistles of Plinythe Younger into Eng. by Abr. Flemming, 4to. Lond. 1576

POMPONIUS MELA.

Pomponius Mela, by A. Golding, 4to. 1590

PLINY.

Pliny's Nat. Hist. by Dr. Phil. Holland, fol.[8] 1601

SOLINUS.

Julius Solinus Polyhistor, by A. Golding, 4to. 1587

VEGETIUS.

The four Bookes of Flavius Vegetius, concerning martial Policye, by John Sadler, 4to. 1572

RUTILIUS RUFUS.

A View of Valiaunce, translated from Rutilius Rufus, by Tho. Newton, 8vo. 1580

DARES Phryg. and DICTYS Cret.

Dares and Dictys's Trojan War, in Verse. 1555

[8] On the books of the Stationers' Company is this entry: "Adam Islip, 1600.] The xxxvii. bookes of C. Plinius Secundus his Historie of the Worlde. To be translated out of Latin into Englyshe and so printed."

CATO and P. SYRUS.

Caton,[9] translated into Englyshe by Mayster Benet Burgh, &c. mentioned by Caxton.

Cathon [Parvus and Magnus] transl. &c. by Caxton 1483[1]

Preceptes of Cato, with Annotations of Erasmus, &c. 24mo. Lond. — 1560 and 1562

‡ Catonis Disticha, Latin and English, small 8vo. Lond. — — — 1553

Ames mentions a Discourse of Human Nature, translated from Hippocrates, p. 428; an Extract from Pliny, translated from the French, p. 312; Æsop,[2] &c. by Caxton and others; and there is no doubt, but many Translations at present unknown, may be gradually recovered, either by industry or accident.

[9] Probably this was never printed.

[1] There is an entry of *Caton* at Stationers' Hall in 1591 by—Adams, in Eng. and Lat. Again, in the year 1591 by Thomas Orwin. Again, in 1605, "Four Bookes of morall Sentences, entitled Cato, translated out of Latin into English by J. M. Master of Arts."

[2] "Æsop's Fables in Englyshe" were entered May 7th, 1590, on the books of the Stationers' Company. Again, Oct. 1591. Again, Esop's Fables in Meter, Nov. 1598. Some few of them had been paraphrased by Lydgate, and I believe are still unpublished. See the Brit. Mus. Harl. 2251.

It is much to be lamented that *Andrew Maunsell*, a bookseller in Lothbury, who published two parts of a catalogue of English printed books, fol. 1595, did not proceed to his third collection. This according to his own account of it, would have consisted of "Grammar, Logick, and Rhetoricke, Lawe, Historie, Poetrie, Policie," &c. which, as he tells us, "for the most part concerne matters of delight and pleasure."

EXTRACTS OF ENTRIES

ON THE

BOOKS OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

☞ N. B. The terms *book* and *ballad* were anciently used to signify dramatick works, as well as any other forms of composition; while *tragedy* and *comedy* were titles very often bestowed on novels of the serious and the lighter kind. STEEVENS.

A Charter was granted to the Company of Stationers on the 4th of May, 1556, (third and fourth of Philip and Mary,) and was confirmed by Queen Elizabeth in 1560.

The first volume of these Entries has been either lost or destroyed, as the earliest now to be found is lettered B.[3] The hall was burnt down in the fire of London. The entries began July 17, 1576.

1562.

[†Recevyd of M. Tottle for his licence for pryntinge of the tragicall History of the Romeus and Juliett with Sonnettes. A. fol. 86. a.][4]

[3] Since this was written, the first volume, marked A, has been found. MALONE.

[4] This article, within crotchets, is from Vol. I. which (as Mr. Malone observes) has since been discovered. STEEVENS.

Again, Feb. 18, 1582. Vol. B.

M. Tottell.] Romeo and Juletta.[5] p. 193.

Again, Aug. 5, 1596,—as a *newe ballad*, for Edward White. C. p. 12. b.

April 3, 1592.

Edw. White.] The tragedy of Arden of Feversham and Black Will.[6] 286

April 18, 1593.

Rich. Feild.] A booke entitled Venus and Adonis.[7] 297 b.

[5] This and the foregoing are perhaps the original works on which Shakspeare founded his play of Romeo and Juliet. STEEVENS.

[6] This play was reprinted in 1770 at Feversham, with a preface attributing it to Shakspeare. The collection of parallel passages which the editor has brought forward to justify his supposition, is such as will make the reader smile. The following is a specimen:

Arden of Feversham, p. 74:
" Fling down Endimion, and snatch him up."
Merchant of Venice, Act V. sc. i:
" Peace, ho! the moon sleeps with Endymion."
Arden of Feversham, p. 87:
" Let my death make amends for all my sin."
Much Ado about Nothing, Act IV. sc. ii:
" Death is the fairest cover for her shame." STEEVENS.

[7] The last stanza of a poem entitled *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis; or Lustes Prodegies*, by William Barksted, 1607, has the following praise of Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*:

" But stay, my muse, in thy own confines keepe,
" And wage not warre with so deere-lov'd a neighbor;
" But, having sung thy day song, rest and sleepe,
" Preserve thy small fame and his greater favor.
" His song was worthie merit, (Shakspeare hee)
" Sung the faire blossome, thou the withered tree:
" Laurel is due to him; his art and wit
" Hath purchas'd it; cypres thy brow will fit."
STEEVENS.

Afterwards entered by ——— Harrison, sen. June 23, 1594: by W. Leake, June 23, 1596: by W. Barrett, Feb. 16, 1616: and by John Parker, March 8, 1619.

Oct. 19, 1593.

Symon Waterson.] A booke entitled the Tragedye of Cleopatra.[a] 301 b.

Feb. 6, 1593.

John Danter.] A booke entitled a noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus. 304 b.

Entered also unto him by warrant from Mr. Woodcock, the ballad thereof.

March 12, 1593.

Tho. Millington.] A booke intituled the firste Part of the Contention of the twoo famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Deathe of the good Duke Humphrey, and the Banishment and Deathe of the Duke of Sufk, and the tragical Ende of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jacke Cade, and the Duke of York's first Claime unto the Crown. 305 b.

[a] I suppose this to be Daniel's tragedy of *Cleopatra*. Simon Waterson was one of the printers of his other works. STEEVENS.

Daniel's *Cleopatra* was published by Waterson in 1594; this entry therefore undoubtedly related to it. MALONE.

May 2, 1594.

Peter Shorte.] A plesant conceyted hystorie called the Tayminge of a Shrowe.[9] 306 b.

May 9, 1594.

Mr. Harrison Sen.] A booke entitled the Ravyshement of Lucrece. 306 b.

May 14, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] A booke intitled the famous Victories of Henrye the ffyft, conteyninge the honorable Battell of Agincourt.[1] 306 b.

May 14, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled the moste famous Chronicle Historye of Leire Kinge of England and his three Daughters.[2] 307

May 22, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled a Wynters Nightes Pastime.[3] 307 b.

[9] I conceive it to be the play that furnished Shakspeare with the materials which he afterwards worked up into another with the same title. STEEVENS.

[1] This might have been the *very displeasing play* mentioned in the epilogue to the second part of *King Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

The earliest edition of this play now known to be extant, was printed in 1598. Of that edition I have a copy. This piece furnished Shakspeare with the outline of the two parts of *King Henry IV.* as well as with that of *King Henry V.* MALONE.

[2] I suppose this to be the play on the same subject as that of our author, but written before it. STEEVENS.

[3] Query, if *The Winter's Tale.* STEEVENS.

June 19, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] An enterlude intitled the Tragedie of Richard the Third, wherein is showen the Death of Edward the Fourthe, with the Smotheringe of the twoo Princes in the Tower, with a lamentable End of Shore's Wife, and the Conjunction of the twoo Houses of Lancaster and York.[4] 309 b.

July 20, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] The lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldest Sonne of K. Brutus, discoursinge the Warres of the Britans, &c. 310 b.

Vol. C.

Before the beginning of this volume are placed two leaves containing irregular entries, prohibitions, notes, &c. Among these are the following:

Aug. 4th.

As You like it, a book.
Henry the Fift, a book.[5]
Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing.
} to be staied.

[4] This could not have been the work of Shakspeare, as the death of Jane Shore makes no part of his drama. STEEVENS.

[5] Probably the play before that of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

Surely this must have been Shakspeare's *Henry V.* which, as well as *Much Ado about Nothing*, was printed in 1600, when this entry appears to have been made. See the Essay on the chronological order of Shakspeare's plays; article, *As you like it*. MALONE.

The dates scattered over these pages are from 1596 to 1615.

Dec. 1, 1595.

Cuthbert Burby.] A book entituled Edward the Third and the black prince, their warres with Kinge John of Fraunce.[6] 6

Aug. 5, 1596.

Edw. White.] A newe ballad of Romeo and Juliett.[7] 12 b.

Aug. 15, 1597.

Rich. Jones.] Two ballads, beinge the ffirste and second parts of the Widowe of Watling-streete.[8] 22 b.

Aug. 29, 1597.

Andrew Wise.] The tragedye of Richard the Seconde. 23

Oct. 20, 1597.

Andrew Wise.] The tragedie of Kinge Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence. 25

[6] This is ascribed to Shakspeare by the compilers of ancient catalogues. STEEVENS.

[7] Query, if Shakspeare's play, the first edition of which appeared in 1597. STEEVENS.

[8] Perhaps the songs on which the play with the same title was founded. It may, however, be the play itself. It was not uncommon to divide one dramatick piece, though designed for a single exhibition, into two parts. See the *King John* before that of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

Feb. 25, 1598.

Andrew Wisse.] A booke entitled the Historye of Henry the Fourth, with his Battaile at Shrewsburye against Henry Hottspurre of the Northe with the conceipted Mirth of Sir John Falstalffe. 31

July 22, 1598.

James Robertes.] A booke of the Marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyse. Provided that yt bee not prynted by the said James Roberts or anye other whatsoever, without lycence first had of the right honourable the Lord Chamberlen. 39 b.

Aug. 4, 1600.

As you like it, a book. Henry the ffift, a book. Every man in his humour, a book. The Comedie of Much Adoo about Nothinge, a book.

Aug. 11, 1600.

Tho. Pavier.] First Part of the History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham.

Item, The Second and last Parte of the History of Sir John Oldcastell Lord Cobham, with his Martyrdom. 62

Aug. 14, 1600.

Tho. Pavyer.] The Historye of Henrye the

Vth, with the battel of Agencourt, &c. 63

Aug. 23, 1600.

And. Wise, and Wm. Aspley.] Muche Adoe about Nothinge. 63 b.

Second Part of the History of King Henry the Fourth, with the Humors of Sir John Fallstaff, written by Mr. SHAKESPERE. ibid.

Oct. 8, 1600.

Tho. Fysher.] A booke called a Mydsomer Nyghte Dreame. 65 b.

Oct. 28, 1600.

Tho. Haies.] The Book of the Merchant of Venyce. 66

Jan. 18, 1601.

John Busby.] An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir John Faulstof and the Merry Wyves of Windesor. 78

Arth Johnson.] The preceding entered as assigned to him from John Busby. ibid.

April 19, 1602.

Tho. Pavier.] By Assignment from Tho. Millington, *Salvo jure cujus cumq.* The 1st and 2d pts of Henry the VI. ii books.

Tho. Pavyer.] Titus and Andronicus. 80 b.

July 26, 1602.

James Roberts.] A booke The Revenge of Hamlett prince of Denmarke, as

yt was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberlayn his servantes. 84 b.

Aug. 11, 1602.

Wm. Cotton.] A booke called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Lord Cromwell, as yt was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his servants. 85 b.

Feb. 7, 1602.

Mr. Roberts.] The booke of Troilus and Cresseda, as yt is acted by my Lo. Chamberlen's men. 91 b.

June 27, 1603.

Matt. Law.] Richard 3. Richard 2. Henry 4. 1st Part. } all kings. 98

Feb. 12, 1604.

Nath. Butter.] Yf he get good allowance for the Enterlude of K. Henry 8, before he begyn to print it; and then procure the warden's hands to it for the entrance of yt, he is to have the same for his copy.[9] 120

May 8, 1605.

Simon Stafford.] A booke called the tragicall Historie of Kinge Leir and his three Daughters, &c. as yt was latelie acted. 123

John Wright.] By assignment from Simon

[9] This was a play entitled, *When you see me you know me, or the famous chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight*, &c. by Samuel Rowley. Printed for N. Butter, 1605. MALONE.

Stafford and consent of Mr. Leake, the tragical History of King Leire, and his three Daughters, provided that Simon Stafford shall have the printing of this book.[1] ibid.

July 3, 1605.

Tho. Pavyer.] A ballad of lamentable Murther done in Yorkshire, by a Gent. upon two of his owne Children, sore wounding his Wyfe and Nurse.[2] 126

Jan. 22, 1606.

Mr. Ling.] Romeo and Juliett.
Love's Labour Loste.
Taminge of a Shrewe. 147

Aug. 6, 1607.

Geo. Elde.] A booke called the Comedie of the Puritan Wydowe. 157 b.

Aug. 6, 1607.

Tho. Thorp.] A comedie called What you Will.[3] ibid.

[1] This is the *King Lear* before that of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

[2] Query, if the play. STEEVENS.

[3] Perhaps this is Marston's comedy of *What you will*. I have a copy of it dated 1607. *What you will*, however, is the second title to Shakspeare's *Twelfth-Night*. STEEVENS.

This was certainly Marston's play, for it was printed in 1607, by G. Eld, for T. Thorpe. MALONE.

Oct. 22, 1607.

Arth. Johnson.] The Merry Devil of Edmonton.[4] 161 b.

Nov. 19, 1607.

John Smythick.] A booke called Hamlett.
The Taminge of a Shrewe.
Romeo and Julett.
Love's Labour Lost 161

Nov. 26, 1607.

Nath. Butter and John Busby.] Mr. Willm. Shakespeare, his Hystorye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Christmas last, by his Majesties servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side. 161 b.

April 5, 1608.

Joseph Hunt and Tho. Archer.] A book called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Merry Devill of Edmonton, with the pleasant Pranks of Smugge the Smyth, Sir John, and mine Hoste of the George, about their stealing of Venison. By T. B.[5] 165 b.

[4] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* is mentioned in the *Blacke Booke* by T. M. 1604: "Give him leave to see *The Merry Devel of Edmunton*, or *A Woman kill'd with Kindnesse*." STEEVENS.

[5] Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakspeare, and once belonging to King Charles II. but now in Mr. Garrick's collection. The initial letters at the end of this entry, sufficiently free Shakspeare from the charge of having been its author. STEEVENS.

May 2, 1608.

Mr. Pavyer.] A booke The Yorkshire Tragedy, written by Wylliam Shakespere. 167

May 20, 1608.

Edw. Blount.] The book of Pericles Prynce of Tyre. 167 b.
A book called Anthony and Cleopatra. ibid.

Jan. 28, 1608.

Rich. Bonion and Hen. Whalleys.] A booke called the History of Troylus and Cressuda. 178 b.

May 20, 1609.

Tho. Thorpe.] A booke called Shakespeare's sonnetts. 183 b.

Oct. 16, 1609.

Mr. Welby.] Edward the Third. 189

Dec. 16, 1611.

John Brown.] A booke called the Lyfe and Death of the Lo. Cromwell, by W. S. 214 b.

Nov. 29, 1614.

John Beale.] A booke called the Hystory of George Lord Faulconbridge, bastard Sonne to Richard Cordelion.[6] 256 b.

[6] Query, if this was Shakspeare's *King John*, or some old romance like that of *Richard Coeur de Lion*. STEEVENS.

Feb. 16, 1616.

Mr. Barrett.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell. 279

March 2, 1617.

Mr. Snodham.] Edward the Third, the play. 288

Sept. 17, 1618.

John Wright.] The comedy called Mucedorus.[7] 293 b.

July 8, 1619.

Lau. Hayes.] A play called the Merchant of Venice. 303

Vol. D.

Oct. 6, 1621.

Tho. Walkely.] The tragedie of Othello the Moore of Venice. 21

Nov. 8, 1623.

Mr. Blounte and Isaak Jaggard.] Mr. William Shakespeere's Comedyes, Histories, and Tragedyes, soe many of the said Copies as are not formerly entered to other men.

It was undoubtedly *The famous Historie of George Lord Faucombridge*, a prose romance. I have an edition of it now before me printed for *I. B.* dated 1616. MALONE.

[7] Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakspeare, and once belonging to King Charles the Second. See Mr. Garrick's Collection. STEEVENS.

Viz.

Comedyes.
- The Tempest.
- Two Gentlemen of Verona.
- Measure for Measure.
- The Comedy of Errors.
- As You Like it.
- Alls Well that Ends Well.
- Twelfe Night.
- The Winter's Tale.

Histories.
- The Thirde Parte of Henry the Sixt.
- Henry the Eight.

Tragedies.
- Coriolanus.
- Timon of Athens.
- Julius Cæsar.
- Mackbeth.
- Anthonie and Cleopatra.
- Cymbeline. 69

Dec. 14, 1624.

Mr. Pavier.] Titus Andronnicus.
Widdow of Watling Street. 93

Feb. 23, 1625.

Mr. Stansby.] Edward the Third, the play. 115

April 3, 1626.

Mr. Parker.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell. 120

Aug. 4, 1626.

Edw. Brewster.] Mr. Pavier's right in
Rob. Birde.] Shakespeare's plays, or any of them.
The Hystorye of Hen. the fift, and the play of the same.

other writers than of Shakspeare, to correct the press for themselves. Ben Jonson only (who, being versed in the learned languages, had been taught the value of accuracy,) appears to have superintended the publication of his own dramatick pieces; but were those of Lyly, Chapman, Marlow, or the Heywoods, to be revised with equal industry, an editor would meet with as frequent opportunity for the exertion of his critical abilities, as in these quartos which have been so repeatedly censured by those who never took the pains to collate them, or justify the many valuable readings they contain; for when the character of them which we have handed down, was originally given, among typographical blunders, &c. were enumerated all terms and expressions which were not strictly grammatical, or not easily understood. As yet we had employed in our attempts at explanation only such materials as casual reading had supplied; but how much more is requisite for the complete explanation of an early writer, the last edition of the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer may prove a sufficient witness; a work which in respect of accuracy and learning is without a rival, at least in any commentary on an English poet. The reader will forgive me if I desert my subject for a moment, while I express an ardent wish that the same editor may find leisure and inclination to afford us the means of reading the other works of the father of our poetry, with advantages which we cannot derive from the efforts of those who have less deeply and successfully penetrated into the recesses of ancient Italian, French, and English literature. —An author has received the highest marks of distinction, when he has engaged the services of such a commentator.

The reader may perhaps be desirous to know by whom these quartos of Shakspeare are supposed to have been sent into the world. To such a curiosity no very adequate gratification can be afforded; but yet it may be observed, that as these elder copies possess many advantages over those in the subsequent folio, we should decide perversely were we to pronounce them spurious. They were in all probability issued out by some performer, who, deriving no benefit from the theatre except his salary, was uninterested in that retention of copies, which was the chief concern of our ancient managers. We may suppose too that there was nothing criminal in his proceeding; as some of the persons whose names appear before these publications, are known to have filled the highest offices in the company of Stationers with reputation, bequeathing legacies of considerable value to it at their decease. Neither do I discover why the first manuscripts delivered by so careless a writer to the actors, should prove less correct than those which he happened to leave behind him, unprepared for the press, in the possession of the same fraternity. On the contrary, after his plays had passed for twenty years through the hands of a succession of ignorant transcribers, they were more likely to become maimed and corrupted, than when they were printed from papers less remote from the originals. It is true that Heminge and Condell have called these copies *surreptitious*, but this was probably said with a view to enhance the value of their own impression, as well as to revenge themselves as far as possible on those who had in part anticipated the publication of works from which they expected considerable gleanings of advantage, after their first harvest on the stage was over.——I mean to except from this

general character of the quartos, the author's rough draughts of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Romeo and Juliet*; together with the play of *King Henry V.* and the two parts of *King Henry VI.*; for the latter carry all the marks of having been imperfectly taken down by the ear, without any assistance from the originals belonging to the playhouses in which they were first represented.

A succeeding table of those ancient copies of the plays of Shakspeare which his commentators have really met with and consulted, if compared with the earliest of these entries on the books already mentioned, may tempt the reader to suppose that some quartos have not yet been found, from which future assistance may be derived. But I fear that no such resources remain; as it seems to have been the practice of the numerous theatres in the time of Shakspeare, to cause some bookseller to make immediate entries of their new pieces, as a security against the encroachments of their rivals, who always considered themselves as justified in the exhibition of such dramas as had been enfranchised by the press. Imperfect copies, but for these precautions, might have been more frequently obtained from the repetition of hungry actors invited for that purpose to a tavern; or something like a play might have been collected, by attentive auditors, who made it their business to attend succeeding representations with a like design.[8] By these means, without any intent of hasty publication, one company of players was studious to prevent the trespasses of another.[9] Nor did their

[8] See the notes of Mr. Collins and Mr. Malone at the end of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*

[9] From the year 1570 to the year 1629, when the playhouse

policy conclude here; for I have not unfrequently met with registers of both tragedies and comedies, of which the titles were at some other time to be declared. Thus, July 26, 1576, John Hunter enters "A new and pleasant comedie or plaie, after the manner of *Common Condycions*;" and one Fielder, in Sept. 1581, prefers his right to four others, "Whereof he will bring the titles." "The famous Tragedy of the Rich Jewe of Malta," by Christopher Marlow, is ascertained to be the property of Nich. Ling and Tho. Millington, in May, 1594, though it was not printed by Nich. Vavasour till 1633, as Tho. Heywood, who wrote the preface to it, informs us. In this manner the contending theatres were prepared to assert a priority of title to any copies of dramatick performances; and thus were they assisted by our ancient stationers, who strengthened every claim of literary property, by entries secured in a manner which was then supposed to be obligatory and legal.

I may add, that the difficulty of procuring licences was another reason why some theatrical publications were retarded and others entirely suppressed. As we cannot now discover the motives which influenced the conduct of former Lord Chamberlains and Bishops, who stopped the sale of several works, which nevertheless have escaped into the world, and appear to be of the most innocent nature, we may be tempted to regard their severity as rather dictated by jealousy and caprice, than by judgment and impartiality. See a note to my *Advertisement*, Vol. I. p. 403.

The publick is now in possession of as accurate an

in White Friars was finished, it appears that no less than seventeen theatres had been built.

account of the dates, &c. of Shakspeare's works as perhaps will ever be compiled. This was by far the most irksome part of my undertaking, though facilitated as much as possible by the kindness of Mr. Longman, of Pater-noster Row, who readily furnished me with the three earliest volumes of the records of the Stationers' Company, together with accommodations which rendered the perusal of them convenient to me though troublesome to himself. STEEVENS.

A LIST OF SUCH

ANCIENT EDITIONS

OF

SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS,

AS HAVE HITHERTO BEEN MET WITH BY HIS DIFFERENT EDITORS.

Those marked with Asterisks are in no former Tables; and those which are printed in the Italick character I have never seen.

I.
1. A Midsummer Night's Dream, William Shakspeare, 1600, Thomas Fisher.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1600, James Roberts.

II.
1. Merry Wives of Windsor, William Shakspeare, 1602, T. C. for Arthur Johnson.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1619, for D°.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, 1630, T H. for R. Meighen.

III.
Much Ado about Nothing, William Shakspeare, 1600, V. S. for Andrew Wise and William Aspley.

IV.
1. Merchant of Venice. William Shakspeare, 1600, J. R. for Thomas Heyes.
2. W. Shakspeare, 1600, J. Roberts.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, 1637, M. P. for Laurence Hayes.
4. D°. William Shakspeare, 1652, for William Leake.

V.
1. Love's Labour's Lost, William Shakspeare, 1598, W. W. for Cuthbert Burbey.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1631, W. S. for John Smethwicke.

VI.
1. Taming of the Shrew, 1594, P. S. for Cuthbert Burbie.
2. Taming of the Shrew, 1607, V. S. for Nich. Ling.[2]
3. D°. Will. Shakspeare, 1631, W. S. for John Smethwicke.

VII.
1. King Lear, William Shakspeare, 1608, for Nathaniel Butter.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1608, for D°.
3. D°. 1608, for D°.
4. D°. William Shakspeare, 1655, Jane Bell.

VIII.
1. King John, 2 Parts, 1591, *for Sampson Clarke.*
2. D°. W. Sh. 1611, Valentine Simmes, for John Helme.
3. D°. W. Shakspeare, 1622, Aug. Matthewes, for Thomas Dewe.[1]

[2] This is the play on which Shakspeare formed his own with the same title.

[1] These three are only copies of the spurious play.

IX.

1. Richard II. 1597, Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise.
2. Richard II. William Shakspeare, 1598, Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise.
3. D°. W. Shakspeare, 1608, W. W. for Matthew Law.‡
4. D°. William Shakspeare, 1615, for Matthew Law.
5. D°. William Shakspeare, 1634, John Norton.

X.

* 1. Henry IV. First Part, 1598, P. S. for Andrew Wise.
2. D°. W. Shakspeare, 1599, S. S. for D°.
3. *D*. 1604.
* 4. D°. 1608, for Matthew Law.‡
5. D°. W. Shakspeare, 1613, W. W. for D°.
6. D°. William Shakspeare, 1622, T. P. sold by D°.
* 7. D°. William Shakspeare, 1632, John Norton, sold by William Sheares.
8. D°. William Shakspeare, 1639, John Norton, sold by Hugh Perry.

XI.

1. Henry IV. Second Part, William Shakspeare, 1600, V. S. for Andrew Wise and William Aspley.
2. D°. 1600. D°.
3. D°. 1600. D°.

‡‡ *King Richard II.* and *King Henry IV.* 1608.] Of each of these only one copy has been met with. They both belonged to the late Reverend John Bowle, and are now in my possession. STEEVENS.

XII. * 1. Henry V. 1600, Tho. Creede, for T. Millington, and John Busby.
2. D°. 1602, Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pavier.
D°. 1608, for T. P.

XIII. XIV. 1. Henry VI. William Shakspeare, 1600, Val. Simmes, for Tho. Millington.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, W. W. for T. Millington, 1600.
"The true tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, and the death of good king Henry the sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the right honourable the earle of Pembrooke his seruants. Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder St Peters church in Cornwal. 1595." 8vo. (In Dr. Pegge's sale, and bought by Mr. Chalmers for 5l. 15s. 6d.)
_ P. S. is Peter Short; W. W. William White.
This play, precisely the same with the 4to. of 1600, appears as it was first altered by Shakspeare from the original drama of Greene, Peele and Marlowe; great part of which is here preserved. He afterwards revised and improved it, as we have it in the folio.
RITSON.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, T. P.

XV.

1. *Richard III.* 1597, *Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise.*
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1598, Thomas Creede, for D°.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, 1602, Thomas Creede, for D°.
4. D . William Shakspeare, 1612, Thomas Creede, sold by Matthew Lawe.
5. D°. William Shakspeare, 1622, Thomas Purfoot, sold by D .
6. D°. William Shakspeare, 1629, John Norton, sold by D°.
7. D°. William Shakspeare, 1634, John Norton.

XVI.

"The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times been playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants. At London, printed by J. R. for Edward White, and are to bee solde at his shoppe, at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. 1600."

TODD.

See Vol. XXI. p. 1.

Titus Andronicus, 1611, for Edward White.

XVII.
1. Troilus and Cressida, William Shakspeare, 1609, G. Eld, for R. Bonian and H. Whalley, with a Preface.
2. D°. 1609, for D°.
3. D°. no date, D°.

XVIII. *
1. Romeo and Juliet, 1597, John Danter.
2. D°. 1599, Tho. Creede, for Cuthbert Burby.
3. D°. 1609, for John Smethwicke.
4. D°. William Shakspeare, no date, John Smethwicke.
5. D°. William Shakspeare, 1637, R. Young, for D°.

XIX. *
1. Hamlet, William Shakspeare, J. R. for N. L. 1604.
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1605, I. R. for N. L.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, 1611, for John Smethwicke.
4. D°. William Shakspeare, no date, W. S. for D°.
5. D°. William Shakspeare, 1637, R. Young for D°.
6. D°. R. Bentley, 1695.

XX.
1. *Othello, William Shakspeare, no date, Thomas Walkely.*
2. D°. William Shakspeare, 1622, N. O. for Thomas Walkely.
3. D°. William Shakspeare, 1630, A. M. for Richard Hawkins.
4. D°. William Shakspeare, 1655, for William Leake.

☞ Of all the remaining plays the most authentick edition is the folio 1623; yet that of 1632 is not without value; for though it be in some places more incorrectly printed than the preceding one, it has likewise the advantage of various readings, which are not merely such as reiteration of copies will naturally produce. The curious examiner of Shakspeare's text, who possesses the first of these, ought not to be unfurnished with the second. As to the third and fourth impressions (which include the seven rejected plays) they are little better than waste paper, for they differ only from the preceding ones by a larger accumulation of errors. I had inadvertently given a similar character of the folio 1632; but take this opportunity of confessing a mistake into which I was led by too implicit a reliance on the assertions of others.

FOLIO EDITIONS.

I. Mr. William Shakspeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true original Copies, 1623, Fol. Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, J. Smethweeke, and W. Aspley.

It seems, from such a partnership, that no single publisher was at that time willing to risque his money on a complete collection of our author's plays.[2]

[2] Every possible adulteration has of late years been practised in fitting up copies of this book for sale.

When leaves have been wanting, they have been reprinted

II. D°. 1632. Fol. Tho. Cotes, for Rob. Allot.

with battered types, and foisted into vacancies, without notice of such defects and the remedies applied to them.

When the title has been lost, a spurious one has been fabricated, with a blank space left for the head of Shakspeare, afterwards added from the second, third, or fourth impression. To conceal these frauds, thick vermillion lines have been usually drawn over the edges of the engravings, which would otherwise ave betrayed themselves when let into a supplemental page, however craftily it was lined at the back, and discoloured with tobacco-water till it had assumed the true *jaune antique*.

Sometimes leaves have been inserted from the second folio, and, in a known instance, the entire play of *Cymbeline;* the genuine date at the end of it [1632] having been altered into 1623.

Since it was thought advantageous to adopt such contrivances while the book was only valued at six or seven guineas, now it has reached its present enormous price, may not artifice be still more on the stretch to vamp up copies for the benefit of future catalogues and auctions?—Shakspeare might say of those who profit by him, what Antony has observed of Enobarbus—

" —— my fortunes have
" Corrupted honest men."

Mr. Garrick, about forty years ago, paid only 1l. 16s. to Mr. Payne at the Meuse Gate for a fine copy of this folio.—After the death of our Roscius, it should have accompanied his collection of old plays to the British Museum; but had been taken out of his library, and has not been heard of since.

Here I might particularize above twenty other copies; but as their description would not always meet the wishes or interests of their owners, it may be as well omitted.

Perhaps the original impression of the book did not amount to more than 250; and we may suppose that different fires in London had their share of them. Before the year 1649 they were so scarce, that (as Mr. Malone has observed) King Charles I. was obliged to content himself with a folio of 1632, at present in my possession.

Of all volumes, those of popular entertainment are soonest injured. It would be difficult to name four folios that are oftener found in dirty and mutilated condition, than this first assemblage of Shakspeare's plays—God's Revenge against Murder—The Gentleman's Recreation—and Johnson's Lives of the Highwaymen.

Though Shakspeare was not, like Fox the Martyrologist, deposited in churches, to be thumbed by the congregation, he generally took post on our hall tables; and that a multitude of his

III. D°. 1664. Fol. for P. C.[3]

IV. D°. 1685. Fol. for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley.

pages have "their effect of gravy," may be imputed to the various eatables set out every morning on the same boards. It should seem that most of his readers were so chary of their time, that (like Pistol, who gnaws his leek and swears all the while,) they fed and studied at the same instant. I have repeatedly met with thin flakes of piecrust between the leaves of our author. These unctuous fragments, remaining long in close confinement, communicated their grease to several pages deep on each side of them.—It is easy enough to conceive how such accidents might happen;—how aunt Bridget's mastication might be disordered at the sudden entry of the Ghost into the Queen's closet, and how the half-chewed morsel dropped out of the gaping 'Squire's mouth, when the visionary Banquo seated himself in the chair of Macbeth. Still, it is no small elogium on Shakspeare, that his claims were more forcible than those of hunger.—Most of the first folios now extant, are known to have belonged to ancient families resident in the country.

Since our breakfasts have become less gross, our favourite authors have escaped with fewer injuries; not that (as a very nice friend of mine observes) those who read with a coffee-cup in their hands, are to be numbered among the contributors to bibliothecal purity.

I claim the merit of being the first commentator on Shakspeare who strove, with becoming seriousness, to account for the frequent stains that disgrace the earliest folio edition of his plays, which is now become the most expensive single book in our language; for what other English volume without plates, and printed since the year 1600, is known to have sold, more than once, for thirty-five pounds, fourteen shillings? STEEVENS.

[3] This edition of our author's plays is scarcer than even the folio 1623. Being published towards the end of 1664, most of the copies were destroyed in the fire of London, 1666.

STEEVENS.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Octavo, Rowe's, London, 1709, 7 Vols.
Duodecimo, Rowe's, ditto, 1714, 9 D°.
Quarto, Pope's, ditto, 1725, 6 D°.
Duodecimo, Pope's, ditto, 1728, 10 D°.
Octavo, Theobald's, ditto, 1733, 7 D°.
Duodecimo, Theobald's, ditto, 1740, 8 D°.
Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1744, 6 D°.
Octavo, Warburton's, London, 1747, 8 D°.
D°. Johnson's, ditto, 1765, 8 D°.
D°. Steevens's, ditto, 1766, 4 D°.
Crown 8vo. Capell's, 1768, 10 D°.
Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1771, 6 D°.
Octavo, Johnson and Steevens, London, 1773, 10 D°.
D°. second edition, ditto, 1778, 10 D°.
D°. (published by Stockdale) 1784, 1 D°.
D°. Johnson and Steevens, 1785, third edition, revised and augmented by the Editor of Dodsley's Collection of old Plays, (i. e. Mr. Reed,) 10 D°.
Duodecimo, (published by Bell,) London, 1788, 20 vols.
Octavo, (published by Stockdale,) 1790, 1 D°.
Crown 8vo. Malone's, ditto, 1790, 10 D°.
Octavo, fourth edition, Johnson and Steevens, &c. ditto, 1793, 15 D°.
The dramatick Works of Shakspeare, in 6 Vols. 8vo. with Notes by Joseph Rann, A. M. Vicar of St. Trinity, in Coventry.—Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Vol. I. 1786. Vol. III. 1789. Vol. V. }
Vol. II. 1787. Vol. IV. 1791. Vol. VI. } 7 4.

The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, corrected from the latest and best London Edition, with Notes, by Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. To which are added, a Glossary, and Life of the Author. Imbellished with a striking likeness from the collection of his Grace the Duke of Chandos. First American Edition. Philadelphia, printed and sold by Bioren and Madan, 1795.

Octavo, fifth edition, Johnson and Steevens, &c. revised and augmented by Isaac Reed, 21 Vols. 1803.

Duodecimo, with Glossarial Notes, by W. H. 10 Vols. 1803.

The reader may not be displeased to know the exact sums paid to the different editors of Shakspeare. The following account is taken from the books of the late Mr. Tonson.

To Mr. Rowe - -	£. 36	10	0
Mr. Hughes[4] - -	28	7	0
Mr. Pope - - -	217	12	0
Mr. Fenton[5] - -	30	12	0
Mr. Gay[6] - - -	35	19	6
Mr. Whatley[7] - -	12	0	0
Mr. Theobald[8] - -	652	10	0

[4] For correcting the press and making an index to Mr. Rowe's 12mo. edition.

[5] For assistance to Mr. Pope in correcting the press.

[6] For the same services.

[7] For correcting the sheets of Mr. Pope's 12mo.

[8] Of Mr. Theobald's edition no less than 12,560 have been printed.

To Mr. Warburton -	£.560	0	0
Dr. Johnson[9] - - -			
Mr. Capell - - -	300	0	0

Of these editions some have passed several times through the press; but only such as vary from each other are here enumerated.

To this list might be added, several spurious and mutilated impressions; but as they appear to have been executed without the smallest degree of skill either in the manners or language of the time of Shakspeare, and as the names of their respective editors are prudently concealed, it were useless to commemorate the number of their volumes, or the distinct date of each publication.

Some of our legitimate editions will afford a sufficient specimen of the fluctuation of price in books.—An ancient quarto was sold for six-pence; and the folios 1623 and 1632, when first printed, could not have been rated higher than at ten shillings each.[1]—Very lately, seven pounds, five shillings; and seventeen pounds, six shillings and six-pence, have been paid for a quarto; the first folio has been repeatedly sold for twenty-five pounds; and also for thirty-five pounds, fourteen shillings:

[9] From the late Mr. Tonson's books it appears, that Dr. Johnson received copies of his edition for his subscribers, the first cost of which was 375l. and afterwards 105l. in money. Total 480l. MALONE.

[1] I have since discovered, from an ancient MS. note in a copy of the folio 1623, belonging to Messieurs White, booksellers in Fleet Street, that the original price of this volume was—*one pound*. STEEVENS.

but what price may be expected for it hereafter, is not very easy to be determined, the conscience of Mr. Fox, bookseller, in Holborn, having once permitted him to ask no less than *two guineas* for *two leaves* out of a mutilated copy of that impression, though he had several, almost equally defective, in his shop. The second folio is commonly rated at two or three guineas.[*]

At the late Mr. Jacob Tonson's sale, in the year 1767, one hundred and forty copies of Mr. Pope's edition of Shakspeare, in six volumes quarto (for which the subscribers paid six guineas,) were disposed of among the booksellers at sixteen shillings per set. Seven hundred and fifty of this edition were printed.

At the same sale, the remainder of Dr. Warburton's edition, in eight volumes octavo, printed in 1747, (of which the original price was two pounds eight shillings, and the number printed, one thousand,) was sold off: viz. one hundred and seventy-eight copies, at eighteen shillings each.

On the contrary, Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition, printed at Oxford in 1744, which was first sold for three guineas, had arisen to nine or ten, before it was reprinted.

It appears, however, from the foregoing catalogue (when all reiterations of legitimate editions are taken into the account, together with five spurious ones printed in Ireland, one in Scotland, one at Birmingham, and four in London,

[*] And is not worth three shillings. See an account of it, in the Preface to the present [i. e. Mr. Malone's] edition. MALONE.

See, however, the Advertisement prefixed to this edition, 1793, and Mr. Malone's Preface, here reprinted. STEEVENS.

making in the whole thirty-seven impressions) that not less than 37,500 copies of our author's works have been dispersed, exclusive of the quartos, single plays, and such as have been altered for the stage. Of the latter, as exact a list as I have been able to form, with the assistance of Mr. Reed, of Staple-Inn, (than whom no man is more conversant with English publications both ancient and modern, or more willing to assist the literary undertakings of others) will be found in the course of the following pages. STEEVENS.

A LIST OF THE MOST

AUTHENTICK ANCIENT EDITIONS

OF

SHAKSPEARE'S POEMS.

1. Venus and Adonis, 1596, small octavo, or rather decimo sexto, R.F. for John Harrison.

   This poem, I have no doubt, was printed in quarto in 1593 or 1594, though no copy of the edition is now known to be extant.[3]

[3] In a manuscript diary that lately passed through the hands of Francis Douce, Esq. there is the following entry on the *12th of June*, 1593:

"For the Survay of Fraunce with the Venus and Adhonay pr. Shakspere . . } xii d.

Reprinted in 1600, 1602, 1617, 1620, 1630, &c.

2. Lucrece, quarto, 1594, Richard Field, for John Harrison.

Reprinted in small octavo, in 1596, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1616, 1624, 1632, &c.

3. The Passionate Pilgrim, [being a collection of Poems by Shakspeare,] small octavo, 1599, for W. Jaggard; sold by William Leake.

4. The Passionate Pilgrime, or certain amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis, &c. The third edition, small octavo, 1612, W. Jaggard.

I know not when the second edition was printed.

5. Shakspeare's Sonnets, never before imprinted, quarto, 1609, G. Eld, for T. T.

An edition of Shakspeare's Sonnets, differing in many particulars from the original, and intermixed with the poems contained in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and with several poems written by Thomas Heywood, was printed in 1640, in small octavo, by Thomas Cotes, sold by John Benson.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Shakspeare's Poems, small octavo, for Bernard Lintot, no date, but printed in 1710.

The Sonnets in this edition were printed from the quarto of 1609; *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, from very late editions, full of errors.

The Poems of William Shakspeare, containing his Venus and Adonis, Rape of Lucrece, Sonnets, Passionate Pilgrim, and A Lover's Complaint, printed from the authentick copies, by Malone, in octavo, in 1780.

D°. Second Edition, with the author's plays, crown octavo, 1790.

Spurious Editions of Shakspeare's Poems have also been published by Gildon, Sewell, Evans, &c.

MALONE.

PLAYS ascribed to SHAKSPEARE, either by the Editors of the two later Folios, or by the Compilers of ancient Catalogues.

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1. Arraignment of Paris, 1584,[4] Henry Marsh.
2. Birth of Merlin, 1662, Tho. Johnson, for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh.
3. Edward III.[5] 1596, for Cuthbert Burby, 2. 1599, Simon Stafford, for D°.
4. Fair Em,[6] 1631, for John Wright.

[4] It appears from an epistle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, that *The Arraignment of Paris* was written by George Peele, the author of *King David and fair Bethsabe*, &c. 1599.

[5] See the preceding extracts from the books at Stationers' Hall.

[6] *Fair Em*,] In Mr. Garrick's Collection is a volume, formerly belonging to King Charles II. which is lettered on the

5. Locrine, 1595, Thomas Creede.

6. London Prodigal, 1605.

7. Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608, Henry Ballard, for Arthur Johnson. 2. 1617, G. Eld, for D°. 3. 1626, A. M. for Francis Falkner. 4. 1631, T. P. for D°. 5. 1655, for W. Gilbertson.

8. Mucedorus, 1598, for William Jones. 2. 1610, for D°. 3. 1615, N. O. for D°. 4. 1639, for John Wright. 5. no date, for Francis Coles. 6. 1668, E. O. for D°.

9. Pericles, 1609, for Henry Gosson. 2. 1619, for T. P. 3. 1630, J. N. for R. B. 4. 1635, Thomas Cotes.

10. Puritan, 1600,[7] and 1607, G. Eld.

11. Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, for T. P.

12. Thomas Lord Cromwell, 1613, Tho. Snodham.

13. Two Noble Kinsmen, 1634, Tho. Cotes, for John Waterson.

14. Yorkshire Tragedy, 1608, R. B. for T. Pavyer. D°. 1619, for T. P. STEEVENS.

back, "SHAKESPEARE, Vol. I." This volume consists is *Fair Em*, *The Merry Devil*, &c. *Mucedorus*, &c. There of no other authority for ascribing *Fair Em* to our author.

[7] The existence of this edition has been doubted. REED.

LIST OF PLAYS

ALTERED FROM

SHAKSPEARE.

INVENIES ETIAM DISJECTI MEMBRA POETAE.

Tempest.

The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island. A Comedy, acted in Dorset Garden. By Sir W. D'Avenant and Dryden. 4to. 1669.

The Tempest, made into an Opera by Shadwell in 1673. See Downes's Roscius Anglicanus, p. 34.

The Tempest, an Opera taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1756.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble. Acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1790.

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. A Comedy written by Shakspeare, with Alterations and Additions, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Victor. 8vo. 1763.

Midsummer-Night's Dream.

The Humours of Bottom the Weaver, by Robert Cox. 4to.

The Fairy Queen, an Opera, represented at the Queen's Theatre by their Majesties Servants. 4to. 1692.

Pyramus and Thisbe, a comick Masque, written by Richard Leveridge, performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields. 8vo. 1716.

Pyramus and Thisbe, a mock Opera, written by Shakspeare. Set to musick by Mr. Lampe. Performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. 8vo. 1745.

The Fairies, an Opera, taken from a Midsummer-Night's Dream written by Shakspeare, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1755.[8]

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, written by Shakspeare, with Alterations and Additions, and several new Songs. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

A Fairy Tale, in two Acts, taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

Merry Wives of Windsor.

The Comical Gallant, or the Amours of Sir John Falstaffe. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesties Servants. By Mr. Dennis. 4to. 1702.

[8] "Garrick has produced a detestable English Opera, which is crowded by all true lovers of their country. To mark the opposition to Italian Operas, it is sung by some cast singers, two Italians, and a French girl, and the Chapel boys; and to regale us with sense, it is *Shakespeare's* MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, *which is forty times more nonsensical than the worst translation of any Italian opera-books.*"

Letter from Lord Orford to Richard Bentley, Esq. Feb. 23, 1755. See his Lordship's Works, Vol. V. p. 312.

Twelfth-Night.

In the preface to Love Betray'd, or the Agreeable Disappointment, a Comedy, by Charles Burnaby, 1703, that author appears to have taken part of the tale of this play, and about fifty lines from it.

Much Ado about Nothing.

The Law against Lovers. By Sir W. Davenant. Fol. 1673.

The Universal Passion. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesties Servants. By James Miller. 8vo. 1737.

Measure for Measure.

The Law against Lovers, by Sir W. D'Avenant. Fol. 1673.

Measure for Measure, or Beauty the best Advocate. As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; written originally by Mr. Shakspeare, and now very much altered: with additions of several Entertainments of Musick. By Mr. Gildon, 4to. 1700.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1789.

Love's Labour's Lost.

The Students, a Comedy, altered from Shakspeare's Love's Labour's Lost, and adapted to the stage. 8vo. 1762.

Merchant of Venice.

The Jew of Venice, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majesty's Servants. By George Granville, Esq. (afterwards Lord Lansdowne.) 4to. 1701.

The Merchant of Venice, a Comedy, altered from Shakspeare, by Dr. Valpy, and acted at Reading School, October, 1802. 8vo.

As you like it.

Love in a Forest, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By C. Johnson. 8vo. 1723.

The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love. A Comedy, altered from Shakspeare. The Dedication is signed J. C. 12mo. 1739.

All's well that ends well.

All's well that ends well; a Comedy. Altered by Mr. Pilon, and reduced to three Acts. Performed at the Haymarket Theatre, 1785. Not printed.

All's well that ends well; a Comedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo.

Taming of the Shrew.

Sawny the Scott, or the Taming of the Shrew; a Comedy, as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, and never before printed. By John Lacy, 4to. 1698.

The Cobler of Preston, a Farce, as it is acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. By Christopher Bullock. 12mo. 1716.

The Cobler of Preston, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By C. Johnson. 8vo. 1716.

A Cure for a Scold, a Ballad Opera, by James Worsdale. Taken from the Taming of the Shrew. 8vo. [1735.]

Katharine and Petruchio. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1576.

Winter's Tale.

The Winter's Tale, a play, altered from Shakspeare. By Charles Marsh. 8vo. 1756.

Florizel and Perdita. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1758.

Sheepshearing, or Florizel and Perdita, by Macnamara Morgan, Dublin. 12mo. 1767.

The Sheep-shearing: a dramatick Pastoral. In three Acts. Taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket. 8vo. 1777.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1802.

Macbeth.

Macbeth, a Tragedy, with all the Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and new Songs; as it is now acted at the Duke's Theatre. By Sir William D'Avenant. 4to. 1674.

The Historical Tragedy of Macbeth (written originally by Shakspeare) newly adapted to the stage, with Alterations, as performed at the Theatre in Edinburgh. 8vo. 1753. By Mr. Lee.

King John.

Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John, a Tragedy; as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in

Covent Garden, by his Majesty's Servants. By Colley Cibber. 8vo. 1744.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1801.

King John, an historical Tragedy, altered from Shakspeare, by Dr. Valpy, and acted at Reading School. 8vo. 1800.

King Richard II.

The History of King Richard the Second. Acted at the Theatre Royal under the title of the Sicilian Usurper: with a prefatory Epistle in Vindication of the Author, occasioned by the Prohibition of his Play on the Stage. By N. Tate, 4to. 1681.

The Tragedy of King Richard II. altered from Shakspeare. By Lewis Theobald, 8vo. 1720.

King Richard II. a Tragedy, altered from Shakspeare, and the Style imitated. By James Goodhall. Printed at Manchester. 8vo. 1772.

King Henry IV. Part I.

King Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff, a Tragi-comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majesty's Servants. Revived with Alterations. By Mr. Betterton, 4to. 1700.

King Henry IV. Part II.

The Sequel of Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff and Justice Shallow; as it is acted by his Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Altered from Shakspeare by the late Mr. Betterton. 8vo. No date.

The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth,

altered from Shakspeare, by Dr. Valpy, and acted at Reading School. 8vo. 1801.

King Henry V.

King Henry V. or the Conquest of France, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo.

King Henry VI. Three Parts.

Henry the Sixth, the First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Henry the Sixth, the Second Part, or the Misery of Civil War. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. [A few speeches and lines *only* borrowed from Shakspeare.] By Ambrose Philips, 8vo. 1723.

An Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars in the Reign of King Henry VI. (being a sequel to the Tragedy of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, and an Introduction to the Tragical History of King Richard III.) Altered from Shakspeare in the year 1720. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1723.]

The Roses; or King Henry the Sixth; an Historical Tragedy. Represented at Reading School, Oct. 15, 16, and 17, 1795. Compiled principally from Shakspeare. 8vo. Elmsly, &c. This compilation is said to have been the work of the Rev. Dr. Valpy.

King Richard III.

The Tragical History of King Richard III.

Altered from Shakspeare. 4to. 1700. By Colley Cibber.

Troilus and Cressida.

Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late. A Tragedy, as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Dryden. 4to. 1679.

Coriolanus.

The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1682.

The Invader of his Country, or the Fatal Resentment. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By John Dennis. 8vo. 1720.

Coriolanus, or the Roman Matron, a Tragedy, taken from Shakspeare and Thomson. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden: to which is added the Order of the Ovation. By Thomas Sheridan. 8vo. 1755.

Coriolanus, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1801.

Julius Cæsar.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar, with the Death of Brutus and Cassius: written originally by Shakspeare, and since altered by Sir William D'Avenant and John Dryden, Poets Laureat; as it is now acted by his Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal. To which is prefixed the Life of Julius Cæsar, abstracted from Plutarch and Suetonius. 12mo. 1719.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar, altered, with a Prologue and Chorus. 4to. 1722.

The Tragedy of Marcus Brutus, with the Prologue and the two last Chorusses. 4to. 1722. Both by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

Antony and Cleopatra.

Antony and Cleopatra, an Historical Play written by William Shakspeare, fitted for the Stage by abridging only; and now acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By Edward Capell. 12mo. 1758.

King Lear.

The History of King Lear, acted at the Duke's Theatre. Revived with Alterations. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1681.

The History of King Lear, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By George Colman. 8vo. 1768.

Hamlet.

Hamlet, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1771. Not printed.

Cymbeline.

The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager. As it was acted at the Theatre Royal, by his Majesty's Servants. By Tho. Durfey. 4to. 1682.

Cymbeline, King of Great Britain, a Tragedy, written by Shakspeare, with some Alterations. By Charles Marsh. 8vo. 1755.

Cymbeline, a Tragedy, altered from Shakspeare.

As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By W. Hawkins. 8vo. 1759.

Cymbeline, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1761. 12mo. 1762.

Timon of Athens.

The History of Timon of Athens, the Manhater. As it is acted at the Duke's Theatre; made into a Play, by Thomas Shadwell. 4to. 1678.

Timon of Athens. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal on Richmond Green. Altered from Shakspeare and Shadwell. By James Love. 8vo. 1768.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakspeare, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Cumberland. 8vo. 1771.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakspeare and Shadwell, by Mr. Hull, was acted at Covent Garden, 1786. Not printed.

Romeo and Juliet.

Romeo and Juliet, altered into a Tragi-comedy, by James Howard, Esq. See Downes, p. 22.

Caius Marius, by Tho. Otway, 4to. 1680.

Romeo and Juliet, a Tragedy, revised and altered from Shakspeare. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1744.]

Romeo and Juliet, altered by Mr. Garrick. 12mo. 1750.

From the Preface to the Republication of Marsh's Cymbeline in 1762, it appears that he had likewise made an alteration of Romeo and Juliet.

Comedy of Errors.

An alteration of this play under the title of Every Body Mistaken, was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1716, but was never printed.

The Comedy of Errors, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, 1779. Altered by Mr. Hull.

The Twins, or Which is Which, in three Acts, altered by Mr. Woods, was acted at Edinburgh, and printed in a collection of farces at Edinburgh, 1786, Vol. IV.

Titus Andronicus.

Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia. Acted at the Theatre Royal. A Tragedy, altered from Mr. Shakspeare's Works. By Edward Ravenscroft. 4to. 1687.

Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

Marina, a Play of three Acts, by George Lillo. 8vo. 1738.

LIST OF

DETACHED PIECES OF CRITICISM

ON

SHAKSPEARE, HIS EDITORS, &c.

1. A short View of Tragedy; its Original, Excellency, and Corruption. With some Reflections on Shakspeare and other Practitioners for the Stage. By Mr. Rymer, Servant to their Majesties. Small 8vo. 1693.

2. Some Reflections on Mr. Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, and an Attempt at a Vindication of Shakspeare, in an Essay directed to John Dryden, Esq. By Charles Gildon.—This tract is found only in Gildon's *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays on several Subjects*, small 8vo. 1694.

3. Remarks on the Plays of Shakspeare. By C. Gildon, 8vo. Printed at the end of the seventh volume of Rowe's edition. 1710.

4. An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakspeare, with some Letters of Criticism to the Spectator. By Mr. Dennis. 8vo. 1712.

5. Shakspeare Restored: or a Specimen of the many Errors as well committed as unamended, by

Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet. Designed not only to correct the said Edition, but to restore the true Reading of Shakspeare in all the Editions ever yet published. By Mr. Theobald. 4to. 1726.

6. An Answer to Mr. Pope's Preface to Shakspeare, in a Letter to a Friend, being a Vindication of the old Actors who were the Publishers and Performers of that Author's Plays. Whereby the Errors of their Edition are further accounted for, and some Memoirs of Shakspeare and the Stage History of his Time are inserted, which were never before collected and published. By a Strolling Player. [John Roberts.] 8vo. 1729.

7. Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, written by William Shakspeare. Printed for W. Wilkins in Lombard Street. 8vo. 1736.

8. Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers Passages of Shakspeare's Plays, by Francis Peck. Printed with his *New Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Milton.* 4to. 1740.

9. An Essay towards fixing the true Standards of Wit and Humour, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule: to which is added an Analysis of the Characters of an Humourist, Sir John Falstaff, Sir Roger de Coverley, and Don Quixote. By Corbyn Morris, Esq. 8vo. 1744.

10. Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth: with Remarks on Sir Thomas Hanmer's Edition of Shakspeare. To which is affixed—Proposals for a new Edition of Shakspeare, with

a Specimen. [By Dr. Samuel Johnson.] 12mo. 1745.

11. A Word or two of Advice to William Warburton, a Dealer in many Words. By a Friend. [Dr. Grey.] With an Appendix, containing a Taste of William's Spirit of Railing. 8vo. 1746.

12. Critical Observations on Shakspeare: by John Upton, Prebendary of Rochester. 8vo. First Edition, 1746. Second Edition, 1748.

13. Essay on English Tragedy, with Remarks on the Abbé Le Blanc's Observations on the English Stage. By William Guthrie, Esq. 8vo. no date, but printed in 1747.

14. An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakspeare, with Remarks on several Passages of his Plays. In a Conversation between Eugenius and Neander. By Peter Whalley, A. B. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. 8vo. 1748.

15. An Answer to certain Passages in Mr. W——'s Preface to his Edition of Shakspeare, together with some Remarks on the Errors and many false Criticisms in the Work itself. 8vo. 1748.

16. Remarks upon a late Edition of Shakspeare: with a long String of Emendations borrowed by the celebrated Editor from the Oxford Edition, without Acknowledgment. To which is prefixed, a Defence of the late Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Warburton, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, &c. 8vo. No date.

17. The Canons of Criticism and Glossary, being a Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakspeare. Collected from the Notes in that celebrated Work, and proper to be bound up with it. By the other Gentleman of Lincoln's Inn. [Mr. Edwards.] First Edition. 8vo. 1748. Seventh Edition, with Additions. 8vo. 1765.

Remarks on Shakspeare by Mr. Roderick, are printed at the end of this last Edition.

18. An Attempte to rescue that aunciente English Poet and Play-wrighte Maister Williame Shakspeare from the many Errours faulsely charged on him by certaine new-fangled Wittes; and to let him speak for himselfe, as right well he wotteth, when freede from the many careless Mistakings of the heedless first Imprinters of his Workes. By a Gentleman formerly of Gray's Inn. [Mr. Holt.] 8vo. 1749.

[May 1, 1750, Mr. Holt issued out Proposals for publishing by subscription, both in octavo and twelves, an edition of our author's plays.]

19. Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: with a Preface, containing some general Remarks on the Writings of Shakspeare. 8vo. 1752.

20. The Beauties of Shakspeare: regularly selected from each Play: with a general Index digesting them under proper Heads. Illustrated with explanatory Notes, and similar Passages from ancient and modern Authors. By William Dodd, B. A. late of Clare Hall, Cambridge. 2 Vols. 12mo. First Edition, 1752. Second Edition, 1757. Third Edition, in 3 Vols. 1780.

21. Shakspeare Illustrated: or the Novels and Histories on which the Plays of Shakspeare are founded, collected and translated from the original Authors, with critical Remarks. In 2 Volumes. [By Mrs. Lenox.] 12mo. 1753.

A third Volume with the same Title, 1754.

22. The Novel from which the Play of the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakspeare, is taken, translated from the Italian. To which is added, a Translation of a Novel from the Decamerone of Boccaccio. 8vo. 1755.

23. Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakspeare, with Emendations of the Text and Metre: by Zachary Grey, LL. D. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1755.

24. The Castrated Letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, in the Sixth Volume of BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, wherein is discovered the first Rise of the present Bishop of Gloucester's Quarrel with that Baronet, about his Edition of Shakspeare's Plays: to which is added, an impartial Account of the extraordinary Means used to suppress this remarkable Letter. By a Proprietor of that Work. [Philip Nichols.] 4to. 1763.

25. A Revisal of Shakspeare's Text, wherein the Alterations introduced into it by the more modern Editors and Criticks are particularly considered. [By Mr. Heath.] 8vo. 1765.

26. A Review of Dr. Johnson's New Edition of Shakspeare; in which the Ignorance or Inattention of that Editor is exposed, and the Poet defended

from the Persecution of his Commentators. By W. Kenrick, 8vo. 1765.

27. An Examination of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Mr. Johnson's Edition of Shakspeare. [By Mr. Barclay.] 8vo. 1766.

28. A Defence of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnson's Shakspeare, containing a number of curious and ludicrous Anecdotes of Literary Biography. By a Friend. [i. e. W. Kenrick.] 8vo. 1766.

29. Observations and Conjectures on some Passages of Shakspeare. [By Tho. Tyrwhitt, Esq.] 8vo. 1766.

30. An Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, addressed to Joseph Cradock, Esq. By the Rev. Dr. Richard Farmer, 8vo. 1767. Second Edition, crown 8vo. 1767. Third Edition, crown octavo, 1789.

31. A Letter to David Garrick, Esq. concerning a Glossary to the Plays of Shakspeare, on a more extensive Plan than has hitherto appeared. To which is added a Specimen. By Richard Warner, Esq. 8vo. 1768.

32. An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare, compared with the Greek and French dramatick Poets, with some Remarks upon the Misrepresentations of Monsieur de Voltaire. By Mrs. Montagu. 8vo. First Edition, 1769. Second Edition, 1776.

33. The Tragedy of King Lear as lately published, vindicated from the Abuse of the Critical Review-

ers; and the wonderful Genius and Abilities of those Gentlemen for Criticism, set forth, celebrated and extolled. By the Editor of King Lear. [Charles Jennens, Esq.] 8vo. 1772.

34. Shakspeare. 4to. This piece was written by Dr. Kenrick Prescott, and is dated Feb. 6, 1774.

35. Cursory Remarks on Tragedy, on Shakspeare, and on certain French and Italian Poets, &c. [By Edward Taylor, Esq.] Crown 8vo. 1774.

36. A philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakspeare's remarkable Characters. By William Richardson, Esq. Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. 12mo. First Edition, 1773. Second Edition, 1774.

37. The Morality of Shakspeare's Drama illustrated. By Mrs. Griffith. 8vo. 1775.

38. A Letter to George Hardinge, Esq. on the Subject of a Passage in Mr. Steevens's Preface to his Impression of Shakspeare. [By the Rev. Mr. Collins.] 4to. 1777. [Dr. Johnson observed of this performance, that it was "a great gun without powder and ball."] On the title-page of a copy of it presented by Mr. Capell, together with his *Shakspeariana*, to Trinity College, Cambridge, is the following manuscript note: "Seen through the press by Mr. H———, &c. Note in p. 18 added, and the postscript new-molded by him. E. C." i. e. Edward Capell.

From the foregoing circumstance it appears that Mr. H——— (like Congreve's Petulant) assisted in writing a letter to himself. This epistle, however, (as we have since been informed,) received some

additional touches from the pen of the late Lord Dacre.—*Tantæ molis erat*——. But all would not succeed. The subscribers to Mr. Capell's notes were so few, that his editor was ashamed to print their names; and the book itself is become waste paper.

39. Discours sur Shakspeare et sur Monsieur de Voltaire, par Joseph Baretti, Secretaire pour la Correspondence etrangere de l'Academie Royale Britannique. 8vo. 1777.

40. An Essay on the dramatick Character of Sir John Falstaff. [By Mr. Maurice Morgan.] 8vo. 1777.

41. A Letter from Monsieur de Voltaire to the French Academy. Translated from the original Edition just published at Paris. 8vo. 1777.

42. A Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays published in 1778.—Containing additional Observations by several of the former Commentators; to which are subjoined the Genuine Poems of the same Author, and Seven Plays that have been ascribed to him; with Notes, by the Editor [Mr. Malone.] and others. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1780.

43. Notes and Various Readings to Shakspeare, by Edward Capell. 3 Vols. 4to. 1781.

44. Remarks critical and illustrative on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare. [i. e. Mr. Steevens's Edition in 1778.] [By Mr. Ritson.] 8vo. 1783.

45. Contes moraux, amusans & instructifs, a l'usage de la jeunesse, tirès des Tragedies de Shakspeare; par M. Perrin, Editeur de la nouvelle

Edition du Dictionaire de Chambaud, &c.—A Londres, chez Robson, Cadell, and Elmsly. 1783. 12mo.

46. A familiar Address to the curious in English Poetry, more particularly to the Readers of Shakspeare. By Thersites Literarius. 8vo. 1784.

47. A Second Appendix to Mr. Malone's Supplement to the last Edition of the Plays of Shakspeare; containing additional Observations by the Editor of the Supplement. 8vo. 1793.—Of this Appendix only fifty Copies were printed.

48. Essays on Shakspeare's dramatick Characters of Richard the Third, King Lear, and Timon of Athens. To which are added, an Essay on the Faults of Shakspeare, and additional Observations on the Character of Hamlet. By Mr. Richardson. 12mo. 1784.

49. The Beauties of Shakspeare selected from his Works. To which are added, the principal Scenes in the same Author. 12mo. 1784. Printed for Kearsley.

50. Dramatick Miscellanies, consisting of critical Observations on the Plays of Shakspeare, &c. By Thomas Davies. 3 Vols. Crown 8vo. 1784.

51. Comments on the last Edition of Shakspeare's Plays. By John Monck Mason, Esq. 8vo. 1785.

52. Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakspeare. By the Author of Observations on modern Gardening. [Mr. Whateley.] 8vo. 1785.

53. Macbeth Reconsidered; an Essay intended as an Answer to Part of the Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakspeare. [By J. P. Kemble.] 8vo. 1786.

54. A Fragment on Shakspeare, extracted from Advice to a young Poet. By the Reverend Martin Sherlock. Translated from the French. 8vo. 1786.

55. A Concordance to Shakspeare; suited to all the Editions, in which the distinguished and parallel Passages in the Plays of that justly-admired Writer are methodically arranged. To which are added, Three Hundred Notes and Illustrations entirely new. [By A. Beckett.] 8vo. 1787.

56. Imperfect Hints towards a new Edition of Shakspeare, written chiefly in the Year 1782. 4to. 1787.

The Same. Part the Second and last. [By Samuel Felton.] 4to. 1788.

57. Essays on Shakspeare's dramatick Character of Sir John Falstaff, and on his Imitation of Female Characters. To which are added, some general Observations on the Study of Shakspeare. By Mr. Richardson. 12mo, 1788.

58. The Quip Modest; a few Words by way of Supplement to Remarks critical and illustrative on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare; occasioned by a Republication of that Edition [1785] revised and augmented by the Editor of Dodsley's Old Plays. [By Mr. Ritson.] 8vo. 1788.

59. An Index to the remarkable Passages and Words made Use of by Shakspeare; calculated to

point out the different Meanings to which the Words are applied. By the Reverend Samuel Ayscough. 8vo. 1790.

60. Cursory Criticisms on the Edition of Shakspeare published by Edmond Malone. [By Mr. Ritson.] 8vo. 1792.

61. A Letter to the Reverend Richard Farmer, D.D. Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, relative to the Edition of Shakspeare published in 1790, and some late Criticisms on that Work. By Edmond Malone, Esq. 8vo. 1792.

62. Cursory Remarks upon the Arrangement of the Plays of Shakspeare, occasioned by reading Mr. Malone's Essay on the chronological Order of those celebrated Pieces. By the Reverend J. Hurdis, M. A. 8vo. 1792.

63. A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakspeare, containing, I. Notes on As you like it. II. An Attempt to explain and illustrate various Passages, on a new Principle of Criticism, derived from Mr. Locke's Doctrine of the Association of Ideas. By the Reverend Walter Whiter. 8vo. 1794.

64. The Story of the Moor of Venice. Translated from the Italian. With Two Essays on Shakspeare, and preliminary Observations. By Wolstenholme Parr, A.M. late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 1795.

65. Observations on Hamlet; and on the Motives which most probably induced Shakspeare to fix upon the Story of Amleth, from the Danish Chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, for the Plot of that Tragedy: Being an Attempt to prove that he de-

signed it as an indirect Censure on Mary Queen of Scots. By James Plumptre, M.A. 8vo. 1796.

66. A Letter to George Steevens, Esq. Containing a critical Examination of the Papers of Shakspeare, published by Mr. Samuel Ireland. To which are added, Extracts from Vortigern. By James Boaden, Esq. Author of Fontainville Forest, &c. 8vo. 1796.

67. Shakspeare's Manuscripts, in the Possession of Mr. Ireland, examined respecting the internal and external Evidences of their Authenticity. By Philalethes. [Mr. Webb.] 8vo. 1796.

68. Free Reflections on Miscellaneous Papers and Instruments, under the Hand and Seal of Shakspeare, in the Possession of Samuel Ireland, of Norfolk Street. To which are added, Extracts from an unpublished Play, called the Virgin Queen. Written by, or in Imitation of, Shakspeare. By Francis Godolphin Waldron. London. 8vo. 1796.

69. A Comparative Review of the Opinions of Mr. James Boaden, [Editor of the Oracle] in February, March, and April, 1795, and of James Boaden, Esq. [Author of Fontainville Forest, and of a Letter to George Steevens, Esq.] in February 1796, relative to the Shakspeare MSS. By a Friend to Consistency. 8vo. 1796.

70. Vortigern under Consideration, with General Remarks on Mr. James Boaden's Letter to George Steevens, Esq. relative to the Manuscripts, Drawings, Seals, &c. ascribed to Shakspeare, and in the Possession of Samuel Ireland, Esq. 8vo. 1796.

71. An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, pub-

lished Dec. 24, 1795, and attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton: Illustrated by Fac-similes of the genuine Handwriting of Shakspeare, never before exhibited; and other Authentick Documents: In a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. James, Earl of Charlemont. By Edmond Malone, Esq. 8vo. 1796.

72. An Authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts, &c. By W. H. Ireland. 8vo. 1796.

73. Mr. Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct respecting the Publication of the supposed Shakspeare MSS. Being a Preface or Introduction to a Reply to the Critical Labors of Mr. Malone, in his "Enquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Papers, &c. &c." 8vo. 1796.

74. An Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk Street. By George Chalmers, Esq. F.R.S. S.A. 8vo. 1797.

75. An Investigation of Mr. Malone's Claim to the Character of a Scholar, or Critic. Being an Examination of his Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Shakspeare Manuscripts, &c. By Samuel Ireland. 8vo. 1797.

76. Remarks on Shakspeare's Tempest; containing an Investigation of Mr. Malone's Attempt to ascertain the Date of that Play, and various Notes and Illustrations of abstruse Readings and Passages. By Charles Dirrill, Esq. [i. e. Richard Sill.] 8vo. 1797.

77. An Appendix to Observations on Hamlet; being an Attempt to prove that Shakspeare designed that Tragedy as an indirect Censure on Mary Queen of Scots. Containing, I. Some Observa-

tions on Dramas which professedly allude to the Occurrences and Characters of the Times in which they were written, and an Answer to the Objections brought against the Hypothesis. II. Some farther Arguments in Support of it. And, III. An Answer to the Objections brought against Dr. Warburton's Hypothesis respecting an Allusion to Mary Queen of Scots in the celebrated Passage in the Midsummer Night's Dream. By James Plumptre, M.A. 8vo. 1797.

78. Comments on the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, with an Appendix, containing some further Observations on Shakspeare, extended to the late Editions of Malone and Steevens. By the Right Honourable J. Monck Mason. 8vo. 1798.

79. A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers: being a Reply to Mr. Malone's Answer, which was early announced, but never published; with a Dedication to George Steevens, F.R.S. S.A. And a Postscript to T. J. Mathias, F.R.S. S.A. the Author of the Pursuits of Literature. By George Chalmers, F.R.S. S.A. 8vo. 1799.

80. Another Essence of Malone, or the Beauties of Shakspeare's Editor. Two Parts. 8vo. 1801.[1]

81. The Shaksperian Miscellany. By F. G. Waldron. 4to. 1802.

82. Remarks on Shakspeare. By Edward Dubois. Printed in "The Wreath, composed of Selections from Sappho, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus," &c. 8vo. 1802.

83. An Attempt to illustrate a few Passages, in Shakespeare's Works. By J. T. Finegan. 8vo. 1802.

[1] These illiberal and splenetick effusions were preceded by one of the same cast and complexion, entitled, "The Essence of Malone, or the Beauties of that fascinating Writer; extracted

ANCIENT AND MODERN

COMMENDATORY VERSES

ON

SHAKSPEARE.

On William Shakspeare, who died in April, 1616.[2]

RENOWNED Spenser, lie a thought* more nigh
To learned Chaucer; and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spenser, to make room
For Shakspeare, in your three-fold, four-fold tomb.

from his immortal Work in Five Hundred and Sixty-nine Pages, just published; (and with his accustomed Felicity) entitled *Some Account of the Life and Writings of John Dryden!!*" 8vo. 1800. All the three pieces are said to be the acknowledged productions of George Hardinge, Esq. Reed.

[2] In a collection of manuscript poems which was in the possession of the late Gustavus Brander, Esq. these verses are entitled—"Basse his Elegie one [*on*] poett Shakespeare, who died in April 1616." The MS. appears to have been written soon after the year 1621. In the edition of our author's poems in 1640, they are subscribed with the initials W. B. only. They were erroneously attributed to Dr. Donne, in a quarto edition of his poems printed in 1633; but his son Dr. John Donne, a Civilian, published a more correct edition of his father's poems in 1635, and rejected the verses on Shakspeare, knowing, without doubt, that they were written by another.

William Basse, according to Wood, [*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812.) "was of Moreton, near Thame in Oxfordshire, and

* —— *a thought* —] i. e. *a little, a small space;* the phraseology of the time. See note on *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act III. sc. iv. Vol. VI. p. 106. Reed.

To lodge all four in one bed make a shift
Until doomsday; for hardly will a fift[3]

was sometime a retainer to the Lord Wenman of Thame Park." There are some verses by him in *Annalia Dubrensia*, 4to. 1636; and in *Bathurst's Life and Remains*, by the Reverend Thomas Warton, 8vo. 1761, there is a poem by Dr. Bathurst "to Mr. William Basse, upon the *intended* publication of his Poems, Jan. 13, 1651." The volume never, I believe, appeared.

From the words "*who died in April*, 1616," it may be inferred that these lines were written recently after Shakspeare's death, when the month and year in which he died were well known. At a more distant period, the month would probably have been forgotten; and that was not an age of such curiosity as would have induced a poet to search the register at Stratford on such a subject. From the address to Chaucer and Spenser it should seem, that when these verses were composed, the writer thought it probable that a cenotaph would be erected to Shakspeare in Westminster Abbey.

There is a copy of these lines in a manuscript volume of poems written by W. Herrick and others, among Rawlinson's Collections in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and another among the Sloanian MSS. in the Museum, N° 1702. In the Oxford copy they are entitled "Shakspeare's Epitaph;" but the author is not mentioned. There are some slight variations in the different copies, which I shall set down.

Line 2. To rare Beaumond, and learned Beaumond lie, &c.
Edit. 1633.

Line 5. To *lodge in one bed all four* make a shift.
MS. Brander.
To lodge all four in one bed, &c. MS. R. and S.
To *lie* all four, &c. Edit. 1633.

Line 7. So B. S. and R.
—— by *fates* be slain. Edit. 1633.

Line 8. So B. and S.
—— *will* be drawn again. R.
—— *need* be drawn again. 1633.

Line 9. But if precedency *of* death, &c. Edit. 1633.
If your precedency *in* death, &c. B. R. S.

Line 10. So B. R. and edit. 1633.
A fourth to have place in your sepulcher.—S.

Line 11. So, B. and R.
—— under this *curled* marble of thine own.
Edit. 1633.
—— under this *sable*, &c. S.

Betwixt this day and that by fate be slain,
For whom your curtains may be drawn again.
But if precedency in death doth bar
A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre,
Under this carved marble of thine own,
Sleep, rare tragedian, Shakspeare, sleep alone.
Thy unmolested peace, unshared cave,
Possess, as lord, not tenant, of thy grave;
That unto us, and others it may be
Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.

WILLIAM BASSE.

To the Memory of my Beloved the Author, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, and what he hath left us.

To draw no envy, Shakspeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book, and fame;
While I confess thy writings to be such,
As neither man, nor muse, can praise too much;

Line 12. So, B. S. and edit. 1633.
Sleep, rare *comedian*, &c. R.
Line 13. So, B. and R.
Thine unmolested peace, unshared cave.—S.
Thy unmolested peace *in an unshared* cave.—
Edit. 1633.
Line 14. So, B.
Possess as lord not tenant *of the* grave. S.
——————————*to thy* grave. R.
This couplet is not in edit. 1633.
Line 15. So, edit. 1633.
That unto us, *or* others, &c. B. R. and S.
MALONE.

[3] *Fifth* was formerly corruptly written and pronounced *fift*. I have adhered to the old spelling on account of the rhyme. This corrupt pronunciation yet prevails in Scotland, and in many parts of England. MALONE.

'Tis true, and all men's suffrage: but these ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise:
For seeliest ignorance on these may light,
Which, when it sounds at best, but echoes right;
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;
Or crafty malice might pretend this praise,
And think to ruin, where it seem'd to raise:
These are, as some infamous bawd, or whore,
Should praise a matron; what could hurt her more?
But thou art proof against them; and, indeed,
Above the ill fortune of them, or the need:
I, therefore, will begin:—Soul of the age,
The applause, delight, the wonder of our stage,
My Shakspeare, rise! I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spenser; or bid Beaumont lie
A little further, to make thee a room:[4]
Thou art a monument without a tomb;
And art alive still, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give.
That I not mix thee so, my brain excuses;
I mean, with great but disproportion'd muses:
For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
I should commit thee surely with thy peers;
And tell—how far thou didst our Lyly outshine,[5]
Or sporting Kyd,[6] or Marlowe's mighty line.[7]

[4] —— *to make thee a room:*] See the preceding verses by Basse. MALONE.

[5] —— *our* Lyly *outshine,*] *Lyly* wrote nine plays during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, viz. *Alexander and Campaspe*, T. C.; *Endymion*, C.; *Galatea*, C.; *Loves Metamorphosis*, Dram. Past.; *Maids Metamorphosis*, C.; *Mother Bombie*, C.; *Mydas*, C.; *Sapho and Phao*, C.; and *Woman in the Moon*, C. To the pedantry of this author perhaps we are indebted for the first attempt to polish and reform our language. See his *Euphues and his England*. STEEVENS.

—— *or sporting* Kyd.] It appears from Heywood's *Actor's*

And though thou hadst small Latin, and less Greek,
From thence to honour thee, I would not seek

Vindication that Thomas Kyd was the author of the *Spanish Tragedy*. The late Mr. Hawkins was of opinion that *Soliman and Perseda* was by the same hand. The only piece, however, which has descended to us, even with the initial letters of his name affixed to it, is *Pompey the Great his fair Cornelia's Tragedy*, which was first published in 1594, and, with some alteration in the title-page, again in 1595. This is no more than a translation from *Robert Garnier*, a French poet, who distinguished himself during the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. and died at Mans in 1602, in the 56th year of his age. STEEVENS.

[7] —— *or* Marlowe's *mighty line*.] Marlowe was a performer as well as an author. His contemporary, Heywood, calls him *the best of our poets*. He wrote six tragedies, viz. *Dr. Faustus's Tragical History; King Edward II.; Jew of Malta; Lust's Dominion; Massacre of Paris;* and *Tamburlaine the Great*, in two parts. He likewise joined with Nash in writing *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and had begun a translation of Musæus's *Hero and Leander*, which was finished by Chapman, and published in 1606. STEEVENS.

Christopher Marlowe was born probably about the year 1566, as he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge, in 1583. I do not believe that he ever was an actor, nor can I find any authority for it higher than the *Theatrum Poetarum* of Philips, in 1674, which is inaccurate in many circumstances. Beard, who four years after Marlowe's death gave a particular account of him, does not speak of him as an actor. "He was," says that writer, "by profession a scholler, brought up from his youth in the universitie of Cambridge, but by practice *a playmaker* and a *poet* of scurrilitie." Neither Drayton, nor Decker, nor Nashe, nor the author of *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606, nor Heywood in his prologue to *The Jew of Malta*, give the slightest intimation of Marlowe's having trod the stage. He was stabbed in the street, and died of the wound, in 1593. His *Hero and Leander* was published in quarto, in 1598, by Edward Blount, as an imperfect work. The fragment ended with this line:

"Dang'd down to hell her loathsome carriage."

Chapman completed the poem, and published it as it now appears, in 1600. MALONE.

For names; but call forth thund'ring Æschylus,
Euripides, and Sophocles, to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordoua dead,
To life again, to hear thy buskin tread
And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone; for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome,
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time;
And all the muses still were in their prime,
When like Apollo he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
Nature herself was proud of his designs,
And joy'd to wear the dressing of his lines;
Which were so richly spun, and woven so fit,
As, since, she will vouchsafe no other wit:
The merry Greek, tart Aristophanes,
Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please;
But antiquated and deserted lie,
As they were not of Nature's family.
Yet must I not give Nature all; thy art,
My gentle Shakspeare, must enjoy a part:[8]—
For though the poet's matter nature be,
His art doth give the fashion: and that he,
Who casts to write a living line, must sweat,
(Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
Upon the muses' anvil; turn the same,
(And himself with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or, for the laurel, he may gain a scorn,—
For a good poet's made, as well as born:

[8] ——————— *thy* art,
My gentle Shakspeare, must enjoy a part:] Yet this writer in his conversation with Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in 1619, said, that Shakspeare "wanted *art* and sometimes sense."
MALONE.

And such wert thou. Look, how the father's face
Lives in his issue; even so the race
Of Shakspeare's mind, and manners, brightly shines
In his well-torned and true-filed lines;*
In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance.
Sweet swan of Avon, what a sight it were,
To see thee in our waters yet appear;

* —— *true*-filed *lines;*] The same praise is given to Shakspeare by a preceding writer. "As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speak with Plautus his tongue, if they would speak Latin, so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakspeare's fine *filed* phrase, if they would speak English." *Wit's Treasury*, by Francis Meres, 1598.

It is somewhat singular that at a subsequent period Shakspeare was censured for the want of that elegance which is here justly attributed to him. "Though all the laws of Heroick Poem," says the author of *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, "all the laws of tragedy, were exactly observed, yet still this *tour entrejanté*, this poetick *energie*, if I may so call it, would be required to give life to all the rest; which shines through the roughest, most unpolish'd and antiquated language, and may haply be wanting in the most polite and reformed. Let us observe Spenser, with all his rustick obsolete words, with all his rough-hewn, clouterly phrases, yet take him throughout, and we shall find in him a graceful and poetick majestie: in like manner Shakspeare, in spite of all his *unfiled* expressions, his rambling and indigested fancies, the laughter of the critical, yet must be confess'd a poet above many that go beyond him in literature some degrees."

MALONE.

In his well-torned *and true-filed lines;*] Jonson is here translating the classick phrases *tornati & limati versus*. Does not the poet in the next line, by the expression *shake a lance*, intend to play on the name of *Shakspeare?* So, in *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs*, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond. 1639, 4to:

"To SHAKSPEARE.

"Thou hast so used thy pen, (or *shooke thy speare,*)
"That poets startle, nor thy wit come near."

Dryden, in his Dedication to his Translation of Juvenal, terms these verses by Jonson *an insolent, sparing, and invidious panegyrick*. HOLT WHITE.

And make those flights upon the banks of Thames,
That so did take Eliza, and our James!
But stay; I see thee in the hemisphere
Advanc'd, and made a constellation there:—
Shine forth, thou star of poets; and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or cheer, the drooping stage;
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd
like night,
And despairs day, but for thy volume's light!

BEN JONSON.[1]

[1] —— *extinctus amabitur idem.*

This observation of Horace was never more completely verified than by the posthumous applause which Ben Jonson has bestowed on Shakspeare:

"———— the gracious *Duncan*
"Was pitied of *Macbeth*:—marry, *he was dead.*"

Let us now compare the present eulogium of old *Ben* with such of his other sentiments as have reached posterity.

In April, 1748, when *The Lover's Melancholy*, by Ford, (a friend and contemporary of Shakspeare,) was revived for a benefit, the following letter appeared in the *General*, now the *Public Advertiser:*

"—— It is hoped that the following *gleaning of theatrical history* will readily obtain a place in your paper. It is taken from a pamphlet written in the reign of Charles I. with this quaint title: 'Old *Ben's Light Heart* made heavy by Young *John's Melancholy Lover;*' and as it contains some historical anecdotes and altercations concerning *Ben Jonson*, *Ford*, *Shakspeare*, and *The Lover's Melancholy*, it is imagined that a few extracts from it at this juncture, will not be unentertaining to the publick."

'Those who have any knowledge of the theatre in the reigns of *James* and *Charles* the First, must know, that *Ben Jonson*, from great critical language, *which was then the portion but of very few*, his merit as a poet, and his constant association with men of letters, did, for a considerable time, *give laws to the stage.*'

'*Ben* was by nature *splenetic and sour;* with a share of envy, (for every anxious genius has some) more than was warrantable in society. By education rather *critically* than *politely* learned; which swell'd his mind into an ostentatious pride *of his own*

Upon the Lines, and Life, of the famous Scenick Poet, Master WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Those hands which you so clapp'd, go now and wring,
You Britains brave; for done are Shakspeare's days;
His days are done that made the dainty plays,
Which made the globe of heaven and earth to ring:

works, and an overbearing *inexorable* judgment of his *contemporaries*.'

'This raised him many enemies, who towards the close of his life endeavoured to dethrone *this tyrant*, as the pamphlet stiles him, out of the dominion of the theatre. And what greatly contributed to their design, was the *slights* and *malignances* which the *rigid Ben* too frequently threw out against the *lowly Shakspeare*, whose fame since his death, as appears by the pamphlet, was grown too great for *Ben's envy* either to *bear* with or *wound*.'

'It would greatly exceed the limits of your paper to set down all the *contempts* and *invectives* which were uttered and written by *Ben*, and are collected and produced in *this pamphlet*, as unanswerable and shaming evidences to prove his *ill-nature* and *ingratitude* to *Shakspeare*, who first introduced him to the *theatre and fame*.'

'But though the whole of these invectives cannot be set down at present, some few of the heads may not be disagreeable, which are as follow.'

'That the man had *imagination* and *wit* none could deny, but that they were *ever* guided by *true judgment* in the *rules* and *conduct* of a piece, none could with justice assert, *both* being ever servile to raise the *laughter of fools* and the *wonder of the ignorant*. That he was a good poet only *in part*,—being ignorant of *all dramatick laws*,—had *little* Latin—*less* Greek—and speaking of plays, &c.

'To make a child new swaddled, to proceed
'Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,
'Past threescore years: or, with three rusty swords,
'And help of some few *foot-and-half-foot* words,

Dry'd is that vein, dry'd is the Thespian spring,
Turn'd all to tears, and Phœbus clouds his rays;
That corpse, that coffin, now bestick those bays,
Which crown'd him poet first, then poets' king.

'Fight over *York* and *Lancaster's* long jars,
'And in the tiring-house bring wounds to scars.
'He rather prays you will be pleas'd to see
'One such to-day, as *other plays should be*;
'Where neither *chorus* wafts you o'er the seas,' &c.

'This and such like behaviour, brought *Ben* at last from being the *lawgiver* of the theatre to be the *ridicule* of it, being *personally* introduced there in several pieces, to the *satisfaction* of the publick, who are ever fond of encouraging *personal* ridicule, when the follies and vices of the object are supposed to deserve it'

'But what wounded his pride and fame most sensibly, was the preference which the publick and most of his contemporary wits gave to *Ford's* LOVER'S MELANCHOLY, before his NEW INN OR LIGHT HEART. They were both brought on in the *same week* and on the same stage; where *Ben's was damn'd*, and *Ford's* received with *uncommon applause:* and what made this circumstance still more galling, was, that *Ford* was at the head of the partisans who supported *Shakspeare's fame* against *Ben Jonson's Invectives.*'

'This so incensed old *Ben*, that as an everlasting stigma upon his audience, he prefixed this title to his play—"The *New Inn*, or *Light Heart*. A comedy, as it was *never acted*, but most negligently play'd by some, the *King's idle servants;* and more squeamishly beheld and censur'd by others, the *King's foolish subjects.*" This title is followed by an abusive preface upon the audience and reader.'

'Immediately upon this, he wrote his memorable ode against the publick, beginning—

"Come, leave the loathed stage,
"And the more loathsome age," &c.

The revenge he took against *Ford*, was to write an epigram on him as a plagiary.

"*Playwright*, by chance, hearing *toys I had writ*,
"Cry'd to my face—they were th' elixir of wit.
"And I must now believe him, for to-day
"Five of my *jests*, then stoln, pass'd him a play."

alluding to a character in *The Ladies Trial*, which *Ben* says *Ford* stole from him.'

If tragedies might any prologue have,
All those he made would scarce make one to this;
Where fame, now that he gone is to the grave,
(Death's publick tiring-house) the Nuntius is:

'The *next* charge against *Ford* was, that *The Lover's Melancholy* was not his own, but *purloined from Shakspeare's papers*, by the connivance of *Heminge and Condell*, who *in conjunction with Ford*, had the revisal of them.'

'The malice of this charge is gravely refuted, and afterwards laughed at in many verses and epigrams, the best of which are those that follow, with which I shall close this theatrical extract:'

"To my worthy friend, *John Ford.*

"'Tis said, from Shakspeare's mine your play you drew:
"What need?—when Shakspeare still survives in you;
"But grant it were from his vast treasury reft,
"That *plund'rer Ben* ne'er made *so rich a theft*."
Thomas May.

"Upon *Ben Jonson*, and his Zany, *Tom Randolph.*

"Quoth *Ben* to *Tom*, the *Lover's* stole,
"'Tis *Shakspeare's* every word;
"Indeed, says *Tom*, upon the whole,
"'Tis much too good for *Ford.*

"Thus *Ben* and *Tom*, the *dead* still praise,
"The *living* to decry;
"For none must dare to wear the bays,
"Till *Ben* and *Tom* both die.

"Even *Avon's swan* could not escape
"These letter-tyrant elves;
"They on his fame contriv'd a rape,
"To raise their pedant selves.

"But after times with full consent
"This truth will all acknowledge,—
Shakspeare and *Ford* from heaven were sent,
"*But Ben and Tom from College.*"
Endymion Porter.

Mr. Macklin the comedian was the author of this letter; but the pamphlet which furnished his materials was lost in its passage from Ireland.

The following stanza, from a copy of verses by Shirley, pre-

For, though his line of life went soon about,
The life yet of his lines shall never out.

HUGH HOLLAND.[2]

To the Memory of the deceased Author,
Master W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakspeare, at length thy pious fellows give
The world thy works; thy works, by which outlive
Thy tomb, thy name must: when that stone is rent,
And time dissolves thy Stratford monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still; this book,
When brass and marble fade, shall make thee look
Fresh to all ages: when posterity
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodigy
That is not Shakspeare's, every line, each verse,
Here shall revive, redeem thee from thy herse.
Nor fire, nor cank'ring age,—as Naso said
Of his,—thy wit-fraught book shall once invade:
Nor shall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
Though miss'd, until our bankrout stage be sped
(Impossible) with some new strain to out-do
Passions " of Juliet, and her Romeo;"

fixed to Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, 1633, alludes to the same dispute, and is apparently addressed to Ben Jonson:

" Look here *thou* that hast *malice* to the stage,
" And *impudence* enough for the whole age;
" *Voluminously ignorant!* be vext
" To read this tragedy, and thy owne be next."

STEEVENS.

[2] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* edit. 1721, Vol. I. p. 583.

STEEVENS.

Or till I hear a scene more nobly take,
Than when thy half-sword parlying Romans spake:
Till these, till any of thy volume's rest,
Shall with more fire, more feeling, be express'd,
Be sure, our Shakspeare, thou canst never die,
But, crown'd with laurel, live eternally.

L. DIGGES.[3]

To the Memory of Master W. SHAKSPEARE.

We wonder'd, Shakspeare, that thou went'st so soon
From the world's stage to the grave's tiring-room:
We thought thee dead; but this thy printed worth
Tells thy spectators, that thou went'st but forth
To enter with applause: an actor's art
Can die, and live to act a second part:
That's but an exit of mortality,
This a re-entrance to a plaudite. J. M.[4]

Upon the Effigies of my worthy Friend,
The Author, Master WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, and his Works.

Spectator, this life's shadow is;—to see
The truer image, and a livelier he,

[3] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, Vol. I. p. 599 and 600, edit. 1721. His translation of Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine* was entered on the Stationers' books, Oct. 4, 1617. STEEVENS.

It was printed in the same year. MALONE.

[4] Perhaps John Marston. STEEVENS.

Turn reader: but observe his comick vein,
Laugh; and proceed next to a tragick strain,
Then weep: so,—when thou find'st two contraries,
Two different passions from thy rapt soul rise,—
Say, (who alone effect such wonders could,)
Rare Shakspeare to the life thou dost behold.[5]

On worthy Master SHAKSPEARE,
and his Poems.

A mind, reflecting ages past, whose clear
And equal surface can make things appear,
Distant a thousand years, and represent
Them in their lively colours, just extent:
To outrun hasty time,[6] retrieve the fates,
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where confused lie
Great heaps of ruinous mortality:
In that deep dusky dungeon, to discern
A royal ghost from churls; by art to learn
The physiognomy of shades, and give
Them sudden birth, wond'ring how oft they live;
What story coldly tells, what poets feign
At second hand, and picture without brain,
Senseless and soul-less shews: To give a stage,—
Ample, and true with life,—voice, action, age,
As Plato's year, and new scene of the world,
Them unto us, or us to them had hurl'd:

[5] These verses first appeared in the folio, 1632. There is no name subscribed to them. MALONE.

[6] *To outrun hasty time,*]
"And panting time toil'd after him in vain."
Dr. Johnson's Prologue.
STEEVENS.

To raise our ancient sovereigns from their herse,
Make kings his subjects; by exchanging verse
Enlive their pale trunks, that the present age
Joys in their joy, and trembles at their rage:
Yet so to temper passion, that our ears
Take pleasure in their pain, and eyes in tears
Both weep and smile; fearful at plots so sad,
Then laughing at our fear; abus'd, and glad
To be abus'd; affected with that truth
Which we perceive is false, pleas'd in that ruth
At which we start, and, by elaborate play,
Tortur'd and tickl'd; by a crab-like way
Time past made pastime, and in ugly sort
Disgorging up his ravin for our sport:—
—While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne,
Creates and rules a world, and works upon
Mankind by secret engines; now to move
A chilling pity, then a rigorous love;
To strike up and stroke down, both joy and ire;
To steer the affections; and by heavenly fire
Mold us anew, stoln from ourselves:——
This,—and much more, which cannot be express'd
But by himself, his tongue, and his own breast,—
Was Shakspeare's freehold; which his cunning brain
Improv'd by favour of the nine-fold train;—
The buskin'd muse, the comick queen, the grand
And louder tone of Clio, nimble hand
And nimbler foot of the melodious pair,
The silver-voiced lady, the most fair
Calliope, whose speaking silence[7] daunts,
And she whose praise the heavenly body chants,

[7] —— *speaking silence* —]
"*Silence* that *spoke*, and eloquence of eyes." Pope's *Hom.*
STEEVENS.

These jointly woo'd him, envying one another;—
Obey'd by all as spouse, but lov'd as brother;—
And wrought a curious robe, of sable grave,
Fresh green, and pleasant yellow, red most brave,
And constant blue, rich purple, guiltless white,
The lowly russet, and the scarlet bright:
Branch'd and embroider'd like the painted spring;
Each leaf match'd with a flower, and each string
Of golden wire, each line of silk: there run
Italian works, whose thread the sisters spun;
And there did sing, or seem to sing, the choice
Birds of a foreign note and various voice:
Here hangs a mossy rock; there plays a fair
But chiding fountain, purled: not the air,
Not clouds, nor thunder, but were living drawn;
Nor out of common tiffany or lawn,
But fine materials, which the muses know,
And only know the countries where they grow.

Now, when they could no longer him enjoy,
In mortal garments pent,—death may destroy,
They say, his body; but his verse shall live,
And more than nature takes our hands shall give:
In a less volume, but more strongly bound,
Shakspeare shall breathe and speak; with laurel crown'd,
Which never fades; fed with ambrosian meat,
In a well-lined vesture, rich, and neat:
So with this robe they clothe him, bid him wear it;
For time shall never stain, nor envy tear it.

The friendly Admirer of his Endowments,

J. M. S.[8]

[8] Probably, Jasper Mayne, *Student*. He was born in the year 1604, and became a member of Christ Church, in Oxford, in 1623, where he was soon afterwards elected a Student. In 1625

A Remembrance of some English Poets. By Richard Barnefield, 1598.

And Shakspeare thou, whose honey-flowing vein,
(Pleasing the world,) thy praises doth contain,
Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece*, sweet and chaste,
Thy name in fame's immortal book hath plac'd,
Live ever you, at least in fame live ever!
Well may the body die, but fame die never.

England's Mourning Garment, &c. 1603.

Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied muse one sable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his laies open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her *Rape*, done by that *Tarquin*, death.

HENRY CHETTLE.

To Master W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakspeare, that nimble Mercury thy brain
Lulls many-hundred Argus' eyes asleep,
So fit for all thou fashionest thy vein,
At the horse-foot fountain thou hast drunk full deep.

he took a bachelor's degree, and in June, 1631, that of a Master of Arts. These verses first appeared in the folio, 1632.

MALONE.

Virtue's or vice's theme to thee all one is;
Who loves chaste life, there's *Lucrece* for a teacher:
Who list read lust, there's *Venus* and *Adonis*
True model of a most lascivious lecher.
Besides, in plays thy wit winds like Meander,
When needy new composers borrow more
Than Terence doth from Plautus or Menander:
But to praise thee aright, I want thy store.
Then let thine own works thine own worth upraise,
And help to adorn thee with deserved bays.

Epigram92, in an ancient collection, entitled *Run and a great Cast*, 4to. by Tho. Freeman, 1614.

Extract from Michael Drayton's "Elegy to Henry Reynolds, Esq. of Poets and Poesy."

Shakspeare, thou hadst as smooth a comick vein,
Fitting the sock, and in thy natural brain
As strong conception, and as clear a rage,
As any one that traffick'd with the stage.

An Epitaph on the
Admirable Dramatick Poet, W. SHAKSPEARE.[9]

What needs my Shakspeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an age in piled stones;

[9] This poem is one of those prefixed to the folio edition of our author's plays, 1632, and therefore is the first of Milton's pieces

Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
Under a star-ypointing pyramid ?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
Hast built thyself a live-long monument:
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow; and that each heart
Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
Those Delphick lines with deep impression took;
Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,[1]
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving;
And, so sepulcher'd, in such pomp dost lie,
That kings, for such a tomb, would wish to die.

JOHN MILTON.[2]

Upon Master WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, the deceased Author.

Poets are born, not made. When I would prove
This truth, the glad remembrance I must love
Of never-dying Shakspeare, who alone
Is argument enough to make that one.

that was published. It appeared, however, without even the initials of his name. STEEVENS.

[1] —— *of* itself *bereaving*,] So, the copy in Milton's Poems, printed by Mosely in 1645. That in the second folio, 1632, has —of *herself* bereaving. MALONE.

[2] These verses were written by Milton in the year 1630. Notwithstanding this just eulogium, and though the writer of it appears to have been a very diligent reader of the works of our poet, from whose rich garden he has plucked many a flower, in the true spirit of sour puritanical sanctity he censured King Charles I. for having made this "great heir of fame" the *closet companion of his solitudes*. See his Εικωνοκλαστες. MALONE.

First, that he was a poet, none would doubt
That heard the applause of what he sees set out
Imprinted; where thou hast (I will not say,
Reader, his *works*, for, to contrive a play,
To him 'twas none,) the pattern of all wit,
Art without art, unparallel'd as yet.
Next Nature only help'd him, for look thorough
This whole book,[a] thou shalt find he doth not borrow
One phrase from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,
Nor once from vulgar languages translate;
Nor plagiary-like from others gleane,
Nor begs he from each witty friend a scene,
To piece his acts with: all that he doth write
Is pure his own; plot, language, exquisite.
But O what praise more powerful can we give
The dead, than that, by him, the *king's-men* live,
His players; which should they but have shar'd his fate,
(All else expir'd within the short term's date,)
How could *The Globe* have prosper'd, since through want
Of change, the plays and poems had grown scant.
But, happy verse, thou shalt be sung and heard,
When hungry quills shall be such honour barr'd.
Then vanish, upstart writers to each stage,
You needy poetasters of this age!
Where Shakspeare liv'd or spake, Vermin, forbear!
Lest with your froth ye spot them, come not near!
But if you needs must write, if poverty
So pinch, that otherwise you starve and die;
On God's name may the *Bull* or *Cockpit* have
Your lame blank verse, to keep you from the grave:

[a] The Fortune company, I find from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, removed to the Red Bull, and the Prince's company to the Fortune, in the year 1640; these verses therefore could not have been written so early as 1623. MALONE.

Or let new *Fortune's*[4] younger brethren see,
What they can pick from your lean industry.
I do not wonder when you offer at
Black-friars, that you suffer: 'tis the fate
Of richer veins; prime judgments, that have far'd
The worse, with this deceased man compar'd.
So have I seen, when *Cæsar* would appear,
And on the stage at half-sword parley were
Brutus and *Cassius*, O how the audience
Were ravish'd! with what wonder they went thence!
When, some new day, they would not brook a line
Of tedious, though well-labour'd, *Catiline;*
Sejanus too, was irksome: they priz'd more
"Honest" *Iago*, or the jealous *Moor*.
And though the *Fox* and subtil *Alchymist*,
Long intermitted, could not quite be mist,
Though these have sham'd all th' ancients, and might raise
Their author's merit with a crown of bays,
Yet these sometimes, even at a friend's desire,
Acted, have scarce defray'd the sea-coal fire,
And door-keepers: when, let but *Falstaff* come,
Hal, *Poins*, the rest,—you scarce shall have a room,
All is so pester'd: Let but *Beatrice*
And *Benedick* be seen, lo! in a trice
The cock-pit, galleries, boxes, all are full,
To hear *Malvolio*, that cross-garter'd gull.
Brief, there is nothing in his wit-fraught book,
Whose sound we would not hear, on whose worth look:

[4] This, I believe, alludes to some of the company of *The Fortune* playhouse, who removed to the *Red Bull*. See a Prologue on the removing of the late *Fortune* players to *The Bull*. Tatham's *Fancies Theatre*, 1640. MALONE.

Like old-coin'd gold, whose lines, in every page,
Shall pass true current to succeeding age.
But why do I dead *Shakspeare's* praise recite?
Some second *Shakspeare* must of *Shakspeare* write;
For me, 'tis needless; since an host of men
Will pay, to clap his praise, to free my pen.[1]

LEON. DIGGES.

An Elegy on the death of that famous writer and actor, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

I dare not do thy memory that wrong,
Unto our larger griefs to give a tongue.
I'll only sigh in earnest, and let fall
My solemn tears at thy great funeral.
For every eye that rains a show'r for thee,
Laments thy loss in a sad elegy.
Nor is it fit each humble muse should have
Thy worth his subject, now thou art laid in grave.
No, it's a flight beyond the pitch of those,
Whose worthless pamphlets are not sense in prose.
Let learned *Jonson* sing a dirge for thee,
And fill our orb with mournful harmony:
But we need no remembrancer; thy fame
Shall still accompany thy honour'd name
To all posterity; and make us be
Sensible of what we lost, in losing thee:
Being the age's wonder; whose smooth rhymes
Did more reform than lash the looser times.
Nature herself did her own self admire,
As oft as thou wert pleased to attire

[1] These verses are prefixed to a spurious edition of Shakspeare's poems, in small octavo, printed in 1640. MALONE.

Her in her native lustre; and confess,
Thy dressing was her chiefest comeliness.
How can we then forget thee, when the age
Her chiefest tutor, and the widow'd stage
Her only favorite, in thee, hath lost,
And Nature's self, what she did brag of most?
Sleep then, rich soul of numbers! whilst poor we
Enjoy the profits of thy legacy;
And think it happiness enough, we have
So much of thee redeemed from the grave,
As may suffice to enlighten future times
With the bright lustre of thy matchless rhymes.[5]

In Memory of our famous SHAKSPEARE.

Sacred Spirit, whiles thy lyre
  Echoed o'er the Arcadian plains,
Even Apollo did admire,
  Orpheus wonder'd at thy strains:

Plautus sigh'd, Sophocles wept
  Tears of anger, for to hear,
After they so long had slept,
  So bright a genius should appear;

Who wrote his lines with a sun-beam,
  More durable than time or fate:—
Others boldly do blaspheme,
  Like those that seem to preach, but prate.

[5] These anonymous verses are likewise prefixed to Shakspeare's Poems, 1640. MALONE.

Thou wert truly priest elect,
Chosen darling to the Nine,
Such a trophy to erect
By thy wit and skill divine.

That were all their other glories
(Thine excepted) torn away,
By thy admirable stories
Their garments ever shall be gay.

Where thy honour'd bones do lie,
(As Statius once to Maro's urn,)
Thither every year will I
Slowly tread, and sadly mourn.

S. SHEPPARD.[7]

To SHAKSPEARE.

Thy Muse's sugred dainties seem to us
Like the fam'd apples of old Tantalus:
For we (admiring) see and hear thy strains,
But none I see or hear those sweets attains.[8]

To Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Shakspeare, we must be silent in thy praise,
'Cause our encomions will but blast thy bays,
Which envy could not; that thou didst do well,
Let thine own histories prove thy chronicle.[9]

[7] This author published a small volume of *Epigrams* in 1651, among which this poem in memory of Shakspeare is found. MALONE.

[8] These verses are taken from *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond.* 1639, 4to. HOLT WHITE.

[9] From *Wits Recreations*, &c. 12mo. 1640. STEEVENS.

In remembrance of Master WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Ode.

I.

Beware, delighted poets, when you sing,
To welcome nature in the early spring,
    Your num'rous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r,
As it ne'er new a sun or show'r,
    Hangs there the pensive head.

II.

Each tree, whose thick and spreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath the boughs than shade,
    Unwilling now to grow,
Looks like the plume a captain wears,
Whose rifled *falls* are steep'd i'the tears
    Which from his last rage flow.

III.

The piteous river wept itself away
Long since, alas! to such a swift decay,
    That reach the map, and look
If you a river there can spy,
And, for a river, your mock'd eye
    Will find a shallow brook.

WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

And if you leave us too, we cannot thrive,
I'll promise neither play nor poet live
Till ye come back: think what you do; you see
What audience we have: what company

To Shakspeare comes? whose mirth did once beguile
Dull hours, and buskin'd, made even sorrow smile:
So lovely were the wounds, that men would say
They could endure the bleeding a whole day.

SHIRLEY.

See, my lov'd Britons, see your Shakspeare rise,
An awful ghost, confess'd to human eyes!
Unnam'd, methinks, distinguish'd I had been
From other shades, by this eternal green,
About whose wreaths the vulgar poets strive,
And with a touch their wither'd bays revive.
Untaught, unpractis'd, in a barbarous age,
I found not, but created first the stage:
And if I drain'd no Greek or Latin store,
'Twas, that my own abundance gave me more:
On foreign trade I needed not rely,
Like fruitful Britain rich without supply.

DRYDEN.

Shakspeare, who (taught by none) did first impart
To Fletcher wit, to labouring Jonson art:
He, monarch-like, gave those his subjects law,
And is that nature which they paint and draw.
Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did grow,
Whilst Jonson crept and gather'd all below.
This did his love, and this his mirth digest:
One imitates him most, the other best.
If they have since out-writ all other men,
'Tis with the drops that fell from Shakspeare's pen.

Ibid.

Our Shakspeare wrote too in an age as blest,
The happiest poet of his time, and best;
A gracious prince's favour cheer'd his muse,
A constant favour he ne'er fear'd to lose:
Therefore he wrote with fancy unconfin'd,
And thoughts that were immortal as his mind.

OTWAY.

Shakspeare, whose genius to itself a law,
Could men in every height of nature draw.

ROWE.

In such an age immortal Shakspeare wrote,
By no quaint rules nor hamp'ring criticks taught;
With rough majestick force he mov'd the heart,
And strength and nature made amends for art.

Ibid.

To claim attention and the heart invade,
Shakspeare but *wrote* the play th'Almighty *made*.
Our neighbour's stage-art too bare-fac'd betrays,
'Tis great Corneille at every scene we praise;
On Nature's surer aid Britannia calls,
Nor think of Shakspeare till the curtain falls;
Then with a sigh returns our audience home,
From Venice, Egypt, Persia, Greece, or Rome.

YOUNG.

Shakspeare, the genius of our isle, whose mind
(The universal mirror of mankind)

Express'd all images, enrich'd the stage,
But sometimes stoop'd to please a barb'rous age.
When his immortal bays began to grow,
Rude was the language, and the humour low.
He, like the god of day, was always bright;
But rolling in its course, his orb of light
Was sullied and obscur'd, though soaring high,
With spots contracted from the nether sky.
But whither is the advent'rous muse betray'd?
Forgive her rashness, venerable shade!
May spring with purple flowers perfume thy urn,
And Avon with his greens thy grave adorn!
Be all thy faults, whatever faults there be,
Imputed to the times, and not to thee!
Some scions shot from this immortal root,
Their tops much lower, and less fair the fruit.
Jonson the tribute of my verse might claim,
Had he not strove to blemish Shakspeare's name.
But like the radiant twins that gild the sphere,
Fletcher and Beaumont next in pomp appear.

FENTON.

———For lofty sense,
Creative fancy, and inspection keen
Through the deep windings of the human heart,
Is not wild Shakspeare thine and nature's boast?

THOMSON.

Pride of his own, and wonder of this age,
Who first created, and yet rules the stage,
Bold to design, all-powerful to express,
Shakspeare each passion drew in every dress:
Great above rule, and imitating none;
Rich without borrowing, Nature was his own.

MALLET.

Shakspeare (whom you and every playhouse bill
Style the divine, the matchless, what you will,)
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own despight.

POPE.

An Inscription for a Monument of SHAKSPEARE.

O youths and virgins: O declining eld:
O pale misfortune's slaves: O ye who dwell
Unknown with humble quiet; ye who wait
In courts, or fill the golden seat of kings:
O sons of sport and pleasure: O thou wretch
That weep'st for jealous love, or the sore wounds
Of conscious guilt, or death's rapacious hand,
Which left thee void of hope: O ye who roam
In exile; ye who through the embattled field
Seek bright renown; or who for nobler palms
Contend, the leaders of a publick cause;
Approach: behold this marble. Know ye not
The features? Hath not oft his faithful tongue
Told you the fashion of your own estate,
The secrets of your bosom? Here then, round
His monument with reverence while ye stand,
Say to each other: "This was Shakspeare's form;
"Who walk'd in every path of human life,
"Felt every passion; and to all mankind
"Doth now, will ever, that experience yield
"Which his own genius only could acquire."

AKENSIDE.

——————— when lightning fires
The arch of heaven, and thunders rock the ground,
When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air,
And ocean, groaning from his lowest bed,
Heaves his tempestuous billows to the sky;
Amid the mighty uproar, while below
The nations tremble, Shakspeare looks abroad
From some high cliff superior, and enjoys
The elemental war.

Ibid.

From the Remonstrance of SHAKSPEARE,

Supposed to have been spoken at the Theatre-Royal, when the French Comedians were acting by subscription.

What though the footsteps of my devious muse
The measur'd walks of Grecian art refuse?
Or though the frankness of my hardy style
Mock the nice touches of the critick's file?
Yet, what my age and climate held to view,
Impartial I survey'd, and fearless drew.
And say, ye skilful in the human heart,
Who know to prize a poet's noblest part,
What age, what clime, could e'er an ampler field
For lofty thought, for daring fancy, yield?
I saw this England break the shameful bands
Forg'd for the souls of men by sacred hands:
I saw each groaning realm her aid implore;
Her sons the heroes of each warlike shore;
Her naval standard, (the dire Spaniard's bane,)
Obey'd through all the circuit of the main.

Then too great commerce, for a late-found world,
Around your coast her eager sails unfurl'd:
New hopes, new passions, thence the bosom fir'd;
New plans, new arts, the genius thence inspir'd;
Thence every scene which private fortune knows,
In stronger life, with bolder spirit, rose.

Disgrac'd I this full prospect which I drew?
My colours languid, or my strokes untrue?
Have not your sages, warriors, swains, and kings,
Confess'd the living draught of men and things?
What other bard in any clime appears,
Alike the master of your smiles and tears?
Yet have I deign'd your audience to entice
With wretched bribes to luxury and vice?
Or have my various scenes a purpose known,
Which freedom, virtue, glory, might not own?

Ibid.

When learning's triumph o'er her barb'rous foes
First rear'd the stage, immortal Shakspeare rose;
Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
Exhausted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,
And panting Time toil'd after him in vain:
His pow'rful strokes presiding truth impress'd,
And unresisted passion storm'd the breast.

JOHNSON.

Upon SHAKSPEARE's Monument at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Great Homer's birth seven rival cities claim;
Too mighty such monopoly of fame.

Yet not to birth alone did Homer owe
His wond'rous worth; what Egypt could bestow,
With all the schools of Greece and Asia join'd,
Enlarg'd the immense expansion of his mind:
Nor yet unrival'd the Mæonian strain;
The British Eagle[1] and the Mantuan Swan
Tow'r equal heights. But, happier Stratford, thou
With incontested laurels deck thy brow;
Thy bard was thine *unschool'd*, and from thee brought
More than all Egypt, Greece, or Asia taught;
Not Homer's self such matchless laurels won;
The Greek has rivals, but thy Shakspeare none.

T. Seward.

From Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his Edition of Shakspeare's Works.

Hard was the lot those injur'd strains endur'd,
Unown'd by science, and by years obscur'd:
Fair fancy wept; and echoing sighs confess'd
A fixt despair in every tuneful breast.
Not with more grief the afflicted swains appear,
When wintry winds deform the plenteous year;
When lingering frosts the ruin'd seats invade
Where Peace resorted, and the Graces play'd.

Each rising art, by just gradation moves,
Toil builds on toil, and age on age improves:
The muse alone unequal dealt her rage,
And grac'd with noblest pomp her earliest stage.
Preserv'd through time, the speaking scenes impart
Each changeful wish of Phædra's tortur'd heart;

[1] Milton.

Or paint the curse, that mark'd the Theban's[2] reign,
A bed incestuous, and a father slain.
With kind concern our pitying eyes o'erflow,
Trace the sad tale, and own another's woe.

To Rome remov'd, with wit secure to please,
The comick sisters kept their native ease.
With jealous fear declining Greece beheld
Her own Menander's art almost excell'd:
But every Muse essay'd to raise in vain
Some labour'd rival of her tragick strain;
Illyssus' laurels, though transferr'd with toil,
Droop'd their fair leaves, nor knew th' unfriendly soil.

As arts expir'd, resistless Dullness rose;
Goths, priests, or Vandals,—all were learning's foes.
Till Julius[3] first recall'd each exil'd maid,
And Cosmo own'd them in the Etrurian shade:
Then deeply skill'd in love's engaging theme,
The soft Provencial pass'd to Arno's stream:
With graceful ease the wanton lyre he strung;
Sweet flow'd the lays,—but love was all he sung.
The gay description could not fail to move;
For, led by nature, all are friends to love.

But heaven, still various in its works, decreed
The perfect boast of time should last succeed.
The beauteous union must appear at length,
Of Tuscan fancy, and Athenian strength:
One greater Muse Eliza's reign adorn,
And even a Shakspeare to her fame be born.

Yet ah! so bright her morning's opening ray,
In vain our Britain hop'd an equal day.

[2] The Oedipus of Sophocles.

[3] Julius II. the immediate predecessor of Leo X.

No second growth the western isle could bear,
At once exhausted with too rich a year.
Too nicely Jonson knew the critick's part;
Nature in him was almost lost in art.
Of softer mold the gentle Fletcher came,
The next in order, as the next in name.
With pleas'd attention 'midst his scenes we find
Each glowing thought, that warms the female mind;
Each melting sigh, and every tender tear,
The lover's wishes, and the virgin's fear.
His every strain the Smiles and Graces own[4]
But stronger Shakspeare felt for man alone:
Drawn by his pen, our ruder passions stand
Th' unrivall'd picture of his early hand.

With gradual steps,[5] and slow, exacter France
Saw Art's fair empire o'er her shores advance:
By length of toil a bright perfection knew,
Correctly bold, and just in all she drew:
Till late Corneille, with Lucan's[6] spirit fir'd,
Breath'd the free strain, as Rome and He inspir'd;
And classick judgment gain'd to sweet Racine
The temperate strength of Maro's chaster line.

But wilder far the British laurel spread,
And wreaths less artful crown our poet's head.
Yet He alone to every scene could give
The historian's truth, and bid the manners live.

[4] Their characters are thus distinguished by Mr. Dryden.

[5] About the time of Shakspeare, the poet Hardy was in great repute in France. He wrote, according to Fontenelle, six hundred plays. The French poets after him applied themselves in general to the correct improvement of the stage, which was almost totally disregarded by those of our own country, Jonson excepted.

[6] The favourite author of the elder Corneille.

Wak'd at his call I view, with glad surprize,
Majestick forms of mighty monarchs rise.
There Henry's trumpets spread their loud alarms,
And laurell'd Conquest waits her hero's arms.
Here gentler Edward claims a pitying sigh,
Scarce born to honours, and so soon to die!
Yet shall thy throne, unhappy infant, bring
No beam of comfort to the guilty king:
The time shall come,[7] when Gloster's heart shall bleed
In life's last hours, with horror of the deed:
When dreary visions shall at last present
Thy vengeful image in the midnight tent:
Thy hand unseen the secret death shall bear,
Blunt the weak sword, and break the oppressive spear.

Where'er we turn, by fancy charm'd, we find
Some sweet illusion of the cheated mind.
Oft, wild of wing, she calls the soul to rove
With humbler nature, in the rural grove;
Where swains contented own the quiet scene,
And twilight fairies tread the circled green:
Dress'd by her hand, the woods and vallies smile,
And Spring diffusive decks the inchanted isle.

O more than all in powerful genius blest,
Come, take thine empire o'er the willing breast!
Whate'er the wounds this youthful heart shall feel,
Thy songs support me, and thy morals heal.
There every thought the poet's warmth may raise,
There native musick dwells in all the lays.
O might some verse with happiest skill persuade
Expressive Picture to adopt thine aid!

[7] Turno tempus erit, magno cùm optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, &c.

What wondrous draughts might rise from every
page!
What other Raphaels charm a distant age!

Methinks even now I view some free design,
Where breathing Nature lives in every line:
Chaste and subdued the modest lights decay,
Steal into shades, and mildly melt away.
—And see, where Antony,[8] in tears approv'd,
Guards the pale relicts of the chief he lov'd:
O'er the cold corse the warrior seems to bend,
Deep sunk in grief, and mourns his murder'd friend!
Still as they press, he calls on all around,
Lifts the torn robe, and points the bleeding wound.

But who is he,[9] whose brows exalted bear
A wrath impatient, and a fiercer air?
Awake to all that injur'd worth can feel,
On his own Rome he turns the avenging steel.
Yet shall not war's insatiate fury fall
(So heaven ordains it) on the destin'd wall.
See the fond mother, 'midst the plaintive train,
Hung on his knees, and prostrate on the plain!
Touch'd to the soul, in vain he strives to hide
The son's affection in the Roman's pride:
O'er all the man conflicting passions rise,
Rage grasps the sword, while Pity melts the eyes.

COLLINS.

Methinks I see with Fancy's magick eye,
The shade of Shakspeare, in yon azure sky.
On yon high cloud behold the bard advance,
Piercing all Nature with a single glance:

[8] See the tragedy of Julius Cæsar.

[9] Coriolanus. See Mr. Spence's dialogue on the *Odyssey*.

In various attitudes around him stand
The Passions, waiting for his dread command.
First kneeling Love before his feet appears,
And musically sighing melts in tears.
Near him fell Jealousy with fury burns,
And into storms the amorous breathings turns;
Then Hope with heavenward look, and Joy draws near,
While palsied Terror trembles in the rear.
Such Shakspeare's train of horror, and delight, &c.

SMART.

What are the lays of artful Addison,
Coldly correct, to Shakspeare's warblings wild?
Whom on the winding Avon's willow'd banks
Fair Fancy found, and bore the smiling babe
To a close cavern: (still the shepherds shew
The sacred place, whence with religious awe
They hear, returning from the field at eve,
Strange whisp'ring of sweet musick through the air:)
Here, as with honey gather'd from the rock,
She fed the little prattler, and with songs
Oft sooth'd his wond'ring ears; with deep delight
On her soft lap he sat, and caught the sounds.

JOSEPH WARTON.

Here, boldly mark'd with every living hue,
Nature's unbounded portrait Shakspeare drew:
But chief, the dreadful group of human woes
The daring artist's tragick pencil chose;
Explor'd the pangs that rend the royal breast,
Those wounds that lurk beneath the tissued vest.

THOMAS WARTON.

Monody, written near Stratford-upon-Avon.

Avon, thy rural views, thy pastures wild,
The willows that o'erhang thy twilight edge,
Their boughs entangling with the embattled sedge;
Thy brink with watery foliage quaintly fring'd,
Thy surface with reflecting verdure ting'd;
Sooth me with many a pensive pleasure mild.
But while I muse, that here the Bard Divine
Whose sacred dust yon high-arch'd isles inclose,
Where the tall windows rise in stately rows,
Above th' embowering shade,
Here first, at Fancy's fairy-circled shrine,
Of daisies pied his infant offering made;
Here playful yet, in stripling years unripe,
Fram'd of thy reeds a shrill and artless pipe:
Sudden thy beauties, Avon, all are fled,
As at the waving of some magick wand;
An holy trance my charmed spirit wings,
And aweful shapes of leaders and of kings,
People the busy mead,
Like spectres swarming to the wisard's hall;
And slowly pace, and point with trembling hand
The wounds ill-cover'd by the purple pall.
Before me Pity seems to stand,
A weeping mourner, smote with anguish sore,
To see Misfortune rend in frantick mood
His robe, with regal woes embroider'd o'er.
Pale Terror leads the visionary band,
And sternly shakes his sceptre, dropping blood.

Ibid.

Far from the sun and summer gale,
In thy green lap was Nature's darling laid,
What time, where lucid Avon stray'd,
To him the mighty mother did unveil
Her awful face: The dauntless child
Stretch'd forth his little arms, and smil'd.
This pencil take (she said) whose colours clear
Richly paint the vernal year:
Thine too these golden keys, immortal boy!
This can unlock the gates of joy;
Of horror that, and thrilling fears,
Or ope the sacred source of sympathetick tears.[1]

GRAY.

Next Shakspeare sat, irregularly great,
And in his hand a magick rod did hold,
Which visionary beings did create,
And turn the foulest dross to purest gold:

[1] An ingenious person, who sent Mr. Gray his remarks anonymously on this and the following Ode soon after they were published, gives this stanza and the following a very just and well-expressed eulogy: "A poet is perhaps never more conciliating than when he praises favourite predecessors in his art. Milton is not more the pride than Shakspeare the love of their country: It is therefore equally judicious to diffuse a tenderness and a grace through the praise of Shakspeare, as to extol in a strain more elevated and sonorous the boundless soarings of Milton's imagination." The critick has here well noted the beauty of contrast which results from the two descriptions; yet it is further to be observed, to the honour of our poet's judgment, that the tenderness and grace in the former, does not prevent it from strongly characterising the three capital perfections of Shakspeare's genius; and when he describes his power of exciting terror (a species of the sublime) he ceases to be diffuse, and becomes, as he ought to be, concise and energetical. MASON.

Whatever spirits rove in earth or air,
Or bad or good, obey his dread command;
To his behests these willingly repair,
Those aw'd by terrors of his magick wand,
The which not all their powers united might withstand.

LLOYD.

Oh, where's the bard, who at one view
Could look the whole creation through,
Who travers'd all the human heart,
Without recourse to Grecian art?
He scorn'd the rules of imitation,
Of altering, pilfering, and translation,
Nor painted horror, grief, or rage,
From models of a former age;
The bright original he took,
And tore the leaf from nature's book.
'Tis Shakspeare.—

Ibid.

In the first seat, in robe of various dies
A noble wildness flashing from his eyes,
Sat Shakspeare.—In one hand a wand he bore,
For mighty wonders fam'd in days of yore;
The other held a globe, which to his will
Obedient turn'd, and own'd a master's skill:
Things of the noblest kind his genius drew,
And look'd through nature at a single view:[a]

[a] Thus Pope, in his *Temple of Fame*, speaking of Aristotle:
"His piercing eyes, erect, appear to view
"Superior worlds, and *look all Nature through.*"
STEEVENS.

A loose he gave to his unbounded soul,
And taught new lands to rise, new seas to roll;
Call'd into being scenes unknown before,
And passing nature's bounds, was something more.
CHURCHILL.

Yes! jealous wits may still for empire strive,
Still keep the flames of critick rage alive:
Our SHAKSPEARE yet shall all his rights maintain,
And crown the triumphs of ELIZA's reign.
Above controul, above each classick rule,
His tutress nature, and the world his school.
On daring pinions borne, to him was given
Th' aeriel range of FANCY's brightest Heaven,
To bid rapt thought o'er noblest heights aspire,
And wake each passion with a MUSE OF FIRE.—
Revere his genius—To the dead be just,
And spare the laurels, that o'ershade the dust.—
Low sleeps the bard, *in cold obstruction laid*,
Nor asks the chaplet from a rival's head.
O'er the drear vault, Ambition's utmost bound,
Unheard shall Fame her airy trumpet sound!
Unheard alike, nor grief, nor transport raise,
Thy blast of censure, or thy note of praise!
As RAPHAEL's own creation grac'd his hearse,[3]
And sham'd the pomp of ostentatious verse.
Shall SHAKSPEARE's honours by himself be paid,
And Nature perish ere his pictures fade.
KEATE to VOLTAIRE, 1768.

[3] The TRANSFIGURATION, that well known picture of RAPHAEL, was carried before his body to the grave, doing more real honour to his memory than either his epitaph in the Pantheon, the famous distich of CARDINAL BEMBO, or all the other adulatory verses written on the same occasion. KEATE.

AN

ATTEMPT

TO ASCERTAIN

THE ORDER

IN WHICH

THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE

WERE WRITTEN.[4]

——— Primusque per avia campi
Usque procul, (necdum totas lux moverat umbras,)
Nescio quid visu dubium, incertumque moveri,
Corporaque ire videt. STATIUS.

Trattando l'ombre come cosa salda. DANTE.

EVERY circumstance that relates to those persons whose writings we admire, awakens and interests our curiosity. The time and place of their birth, their education and gradual attainments, the dates of their productions and the reception they severally met with, their habits of life, their private friendships, and even their external form, are all points, which, how little soever they may have been adverted to by their contemporaries, strongly engage the attention of posterity. Not satisfied with receiving the aggregated wisdom of ages as a free gift, we visit the mansions where our

[4] The first edition of this Essay was published in January, 1778.

instructors are said to have resided, we contemplate with pleasure the trees under whose shade they once reposed, and wish to see and to converse with those sages, whose labours have added strength to virtue, and efficacy to truth.

Shakspeare, above all writers, since the days of Homer, has excited this curiosity in the highest degree; as perhaps no poet of any nation was ever more idolized by his countrymen. An ardent desire to understand and explain his works, is, to the honour of the present age, so much increased within the last forty years, that more has been done towards their elucidation, during that period,[5] than in a century before. All the ancient copies of his plays, hitherto discovered, have been collated with the most scrupulous accuracy. The meanest books have been carefully examined, only because they were of the age in which he lived, and might happily throw a light on some forgotten custom, or obsolete phraseology: and, this object being still kept in view, the toil of wading through *all such reading as was never read* has been cheerfully endured, because no labour was thought too great, that might enable us to add one new laurel to the father of our drama. Almost every circumstance that tradition or history has preserved relative to him or his works, has been investigated, and laid before the publick; and the avidity with which all communications of this kind have been received, sufficiently proves that the time expended in the pursuit has not been wholly misemployed.

However, after the most diligent inquiries, very

[5] Within the period here mentioned, the commentaries of Warburton, Edwards, Heath, Johnson, Tyrwhitt, Farmer, and Steevens, have been published.

few particulars have been recovered, respecting his private life or literary history: and while it has been the endeavour of all his editors and commentators to illustrate his obscurities, and to regulate and correct his text, no attempt has been made to trace the progress and order of his plays. Yet surely it is no incurious speculation to mark the gradations[6] by which he rose from mediocrity to

[6] It is not pretended that a regular scale of gradual improvement is here presented to the publick; or that, if even Shakspeare himself had left us a chronological list of his dramas, it would exhibit such a scale. All that is meant is, that, as his knowledge increased, and as he became more conversant with the stage and with life, his performances *in general* were written more happily and with greater art: or (to use the words of Dr. Johnson) "that however favoured by nature, he could only impart what he had learned, and as he must increase his ideas, like other mortals, by gradual acquisition, he, like them, grew wiser, as he grew older, could display life better as he knew it more, and instruct with more efficacy, as he was himself more amply instructed." Of this opinion also was Mr. Pope. "It must be observed, (says he,) that when his performances had merited the protection of his prince, and when the encouragement of the court had succeeded to that of the town, the works of his riper years are manifestly raised above those of the former. —And I make no doubt that this observation would be found true in every instance, were but editions extant from which we might learn the exact time when every piece was composed, and whether writ for the town or the court."—From the following lines it appears, that Dryden also thought that our author's most imperfect plays were his earliest dramatick compositions:

"Your Ben and Fletcher in their first young flight,
"Did no *Volpone*, no *Arbaces* write:
"But hopp'd about, and short excursions made
"From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
"And each were guilty of some *Slighted Maid*.
"Shakspeare's own muse his *Pericles* first bore;
"*The Prince of Tyre* was elder than *the Moor*:
"'Tis miracle to see a first good play;
"All hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas-day.
"A slender poet must have time to grow,
"And spread and burnish, as his brothers do:

the summit of excellence; from artless and sometimes uninteresting dialogues, to those unparalleled compositions, which have rendered him the delight and wonder of successive ages.

The materials for ascertaining the order in which his plays were written, are indeed so few, that, it is to be feared, nothing very decisive can be produced on this subject. In the following attempt to trace the progress of his dramatick art, probability alone is pretended to. The silence and inaccuracy of those persons, who, after his death, had the revisal of his papers, will perhaps for ever prevent our attaining to any thing like proof on this head. Little then remains, but to collect into one view, from his several dramas, and from the ancient tracts in which they are mentioned, or alluded to, all the circumstances that can throw any light on this new and curious inquiry. From those circumstances, and from the entries in the books of

"Who still looks lean, sure with some p— is curst,
"But no man can be *Falstaff* fat at first."
Prologue to the tragedy of *Circe*.

The plays which Shakspeare produced before the year 1600, are known, and are seventeen or eighteen in number. The rest of his dramas, we may conclude, were composed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country. It is incumbent on those, who differ in opinion from the great authorities abovementioned,—who think with Rowe, that "*we are not to look for his beginnings in his least perfect works*," it is incumbent, I say, on those persons, to enumerate in the former class, that is, among the plays produced before 1600, compositions of equal merit with *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *Twelfth-Night*, which we have reason to believe were all written in the latter period; and among his late performances, that is among the plays which are supposed to have appeared after the year 1600, to point out pieces, as hasty and indigested, as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, which, we know, were among his earlier works.

the Stationers' Company, extracted and published by Mr. Steevens, (to whom every admirer of Shakspeare has the highest obligations,) it is probable that our author's plays were written nearly in the following succession; which, though it cannot at this day be ascertained to be their true order, may yet be considered as approaching nearer to it, than any which has been observed in the various editions of his works.

Of the twenty-one plays which were not printed in our author's life-time,[7] the *majority* were, I believe, late compositions.[8] The following arrange-

[7] They are *King Henry VI.* P. I. The Second and Third Parts of *King Henry VI.* (as he wrote them) *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *King John*, *All's well that ends well*, *As you like it*, *King Henry VIII.* *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, *Othello*, *The Tempest*, and *Twelfth-Night*. None of these, except *Othello*, were printed in quarto, but appeared first in the folio edition published by Heminge and Condell, in 1623. Of these plays, seven, viz. *The First Part of King Henry VI.* (allowing that play to be Shakspeare's,) *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* *King John*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, were certainly early compositions, and are an exception to the general truth of this observation. One other, viz. *All's well that ends well*, though supposed to have been an early production, was, it must be acknowledged, not published in Shakspeare's life-time; but for the date of this play we rely only on conjecture.

[8] This supposition is strongly confirmed by Meres's list of our author's plays, in 1598. From that list, and from other circumstances, we learn, that of the fourteen plays which were printed in Shakspeare's life-time, thirteen were written before the end of the year 1600.—The fourteen plays published in our author's life-time, are—*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *King Richard II.* *King Richard III.* *The First Part of King Henry IV.* *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Henry V.*

ment is in some measure formed on this notion. Two reasons may be assigned, why Shakspeare's late performances were not published till after his death. 1. If we suppose him to have written for the stage during a period of twenty years, those pieces which were produced in the latter part of that period, were less likely to pass through the press in his life-time, as the curiosity of the publick had not been so long engaged by them, as by his early compositions. 2. From the time that Shakspeare had the superintendance of a playhouse, that is, from the year 1603,[9] when he and several others obtained a licence from King James to exhibit comedies, tragedies, histories, &c. at the Globe Theatre, and elsewhere, it became strongly his interest to preserve those pieces unpublished, which were composed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country; manuscript plays being then the great support of every theatre. Nor were the plays which he wrote after he became a manager, so likely to get abroad, being confined to his own theatre, as his former productions, which perhaps had been acted on

Much Ado about Nothing, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *King Lear*.

[9] None of the plays which in the ensuing list are supposed to have been written subsequently to this year, were printed till after the author's death, except *King Lear*, the publication of which was probably hastened by that of the old play with the same title, in 1605.—The copy of *Troilus and Cressida*, which seems to have been composed the year before King James granted a licence to the company at the Globe Theatre, appears to have been obtained by some uncommon artifice. "Thank fortune (says the editor) for the *scape* it hath made amongst you; since, by the grand possessors' wills, I believe, you should have pray'd for them [r. *it*] rather than been pray'd."—By *the grand possessors*, Shakspeare and the other managers of the Globe Theatre, were certainly intended.

different stages, and of consequence afforded the players at the several houses where they were exhibited, an easy opportunity of making out copies from the separate parts transcribed for their use, and of selling such copies to printers; by which means there is reason to believe that some of them were submitted to the press, without the consent of the author.

The following is the order in which I suppose the plays of Shakspeare to have been written:

1.	First Part of King Henry VI.	1589.
2.	Second Part of King Henry VI.	1591.
3.	Third Part of King Henry VI.	1591.
4.	A Midsummer-Night's Dream,	1592.
5.	Comedy of Errors, - -	1593.
6.	Taming of the Shrew, - -	1594.
7.	Love's Labour's Lost, - -	1594.
8.	Two Gentlemen of Verona, -	1595.
9.	Romeo and Juliet, - -	1595.
10.	Hamlet, - - - -	1596.
11.	King John, - - - -	1596.
12.	King Richard II. - - -	1597.
13.	King Richard III. - - -	1597.
14.	First Part of King Henry IV.	1597.
15.	Second Part of King Henry IV.	1598.
16.	The Merchant of Venice, -	1598.
17.	All's Well that Ends Well, -	1598.
18.	King Henry V. - - -	1599.
19.	Much Ado about Nothing, -	1600.
20.	As You Like It, - - -	1600.
21.	Merry Wives of Windsor, -	1601.
22.	King Henry VIII. - - -	1601.
23.	Troilus and Cressida, - -	1602.
24.	Measure for Measure, - -	1603.
25.	The Winter's Tale, - -	1604.

26.	KING LEAR, - - - -	1605.
27.	CYMBELINE, - - - -	1605.
28.	MACBETH, - - - -	1606.
29.	JULIUS CÆSAR, - - - -	1607.
30.	ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, -	1608.
31.	TIMON OF ATHENS, - - -	1609.
32.	CORIOLANUS, - - - -	1610.
33.	OTHELLO, - - - -	1611.
34.	THE TEMPEST, - - - -	1612.
35.	TWELFTH NIGHT, - - -	1614.

1. THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI.
1589.

In what year our author began to write for the stage, or which was his first performance, has not been hitherto ascertained. And indeed we have so few lights to direct our inquiries, that any speculation on this subject may appear an idle expence of time. But the method which has been already marked out, requires that such facts should be mentioned, as may serve in any manner to elucidate these points.

Shakspeare was born on the 23d of April, 1564, and was probably married in, or before, September, 1582, his eldest daughter, Susanna, having been baptized on the 26th of May, 1583. At what time he left Warwickshire, or was first employed in the playhouse, tradition does not inform us. However, as his son Hamnet and his daughter Judith were baptized at Stratford, Feb. 2, 1584-5, we may presume that he had not left the country at that time.

He could not have wanted an easy introduction

to the theatre; for Thomas Greene,[1] a celebrated comedian, was his townsman, perhaps his relation, and Michael Drayton was likewise born in Warwickshire; the latter was nearly of his own age, and both were in some degree of reputation soon after the year 1590. If I were to indulge a conjecture, I should name the year 1591, as the era when our author commenced a writer for the stage; at which time he was somewhat more than twenty-seven years old. The reasons that induce me to fix on that period are these. In Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, published in 1586, we meet with the names of most of the celebrated poets of that

[1] "There was not (says Heywood, in his preface to Greene's *Tu Quoque*, a comedy,) an actor of his nature in his time, of better ability in the performance of what he undertook, more applauded by the audience, of greater grace at the court, or of more general love in the city." The birth-place of Thomas Greene is ascertained by the following lines, which he speaks in one of the old comedies, in the character of a clown:

"I pratled poesie in my nurse's arms,
"And, born where late our swan of Avon sung,
"In Avon's streams we both of us have lav'd,
"And both came out together."*

Chetwood, in his *British Theatre*, quotes this passage from the comedy of the *Two Maids of Moreclack;* but no such passage is there to be found. He deserves but little credit, having certainly forged many of his dates; however, he probably met with these lines in some ancient play, though he forgot the name of the piece from which he transcribed them. Greene was a writer as well as an actor. There are some verses of his prefixed to a collection of Drayton's poems, published in the year 1613. He was perhaps a kinsman of Shakspeare's. In the register of the parish of Stratford, Thomas Greene, alias Shakspere, is said to have been buried there, March 6, 1589. He might have been the actor's father.

* The turn of these lines is apparently borrowed from a passage in Milton's *Lycidas*. See v. 23, *& seq.* The whole is a forgery by Chetwood.
STEEVENS.

time; particularly those of George Whetstone[2] and Anthony Munday,[3] who were *dramatick* writers; but we find no trace of our author, or of any of his works. Three years afterwards, Puttenham printed his *Art of English Poesy*; and in that work also we look in vain for the name of Shakspeare.[4]

[2] The author of *Promos and Cassandra*, a play which furnished Shakspeare with the fable of *Measure for Measure*.

[3] This poet is mentioned by Meres, in his *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, as an eminent comick writer, and the *best plotter* of his time. He seems to have been introduced under the name of Don Antonio Balladino, in a comedy that has been attributed to Ben Jonson, called *The Case is Altered*, and from the following passages in that piece appears to have been city-poet; whose business it was to compose an annual panegyrick on the Lord Mayor, and to write verses for the pageants: an office which has been discontinued since the death of Elkanah Settle in 1722:

"*Onion*. Shall I request your name?

"*Ant*. My name is Antonio Balladino.

"*Oni*. Balladino! You are not pageant-poet to the city of Milan, sir, are you?

"*Ant*. I supply the place, sir, when a worse cannot be had, sir.—Did you see the last pageant I set forth?"

Afterwards Antonio, speaking of the plays he had written, says:

"Let me have good ground,—no matter for the pen; *the plot* shall carry it.

"*Oni*. Indeed that's right; *you are in print, already for* THE BEST PLOTTER.

"*Ant*. Ay; I might as well have been put in for a dumb-shew too."

It is evident, that this poet is here intended to be ridiculed by Ben Jonson: but he might, notwithstanding, have been deservedly eminent. That malignity which endeavoured to tear a wreath from the brow of Shakspeare, would certainly not spare inferior writers.

[4] The thirty-first chapter of the first book of Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy* is thus entitled: "Who in any age have bene the most commended writers in our English Poesie, and the author's censure given upon them."

After having enumerated several authors who were then celebrated for various kinds of composition, he gives this succinct

Sir John Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, prefixed to the *Translation of Ariosto*, (which was entered in the Stationers' books Feb. 26, 1590-1, in which year it was published,) takes occasion to speak of the theatre, and mentions some of the celebrated dramas of that time; but says not a word of Shakspeare, or of his plays. If any of his dramatick compositions had then appeared, is it imaginable, that Harrington should have mentioned the Cambridge *Pedantius*, and *The Play of the Cards*, which last, he tells us, was a *London* [i. e. an English] comedy, and have passed by, unnoticed, the new prodigy of the dramatick world?

In Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, first printed in 1591, the following lines are found in Thalia's complaint on account of the decay of dramatick poetry:

> " And he the man, whom nature's self had made
> " To mock her selfe, and truth to imitate,
> " With kindly counter under mimick shade,
> " Our pleasant *Willy*, ah, is dead of late;
> " With whom all joy and jolly merriment
> " Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.
>
> " Instead thereof scoffing scurrilitie
> " And scornful follie with contempt is crept,
> " Rolling in rymes of shameless ribaudrie,
> " Without regard or due decorum kept:
> " Each idle wit at will presumes to make
> " And doth the learneds task upon him take.

account of those who had written for the stage: " Of the latter sort I thinke thus;—that for tragedie, the Lord Buckhurst and Maister Edward Ferrys, for such deings as I have sene of theirs, do deserve the hyest price; the Earl of Oxford and Maister Edwardes of her Majestie's Chappell, for comedie and enterlude."

" But that same gentle spirit, from whose pen
" Large streames of honnie and sweet nectar flow,
" Scorning the boldness of such base-born men,
" Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
" Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell,
" Than so him selfe to mockerie to sell."

These lines were inserted by Mr. Rowe in his first edition of *The Life of Shakspeare*, and he then supposed that they related to our poet, and alluded to his having withdrawn himself for some time from the publick, and discontinued writing, from " a disgust he had taken to the then ill taste of the town and the mean condition of the stage." But as Mr. Rowe suppressed this passage in his second edition, it may be presumed that he found reason to change his opinion. Dryden, however, he informs us, always thought that these verses related to Shakspeare: and indeed I do not recollect any dramatick poet of that time, to whom the character which they delineate is applicable, except our author. It is remarkable that the very same epithet, which Spenser has employed, " But that same *gentle* spirit," &c. is likewise used by the players in their Preface, where they speak of Shakspeare:— " who as he was a happie imitator of nature, was a most *gentle* expresser of it." On the other hand some little difficulty arises from the line—" And doth the *learneds* task upon him take;" for our poet certainly had no title to that epithet. Spenser, however, might have used it in an appropriated sense, *learned in all the business of the stage;* and in this sense the epithet is more applicable to Shakspeare than to any poet that ever wrote.

It should, however, be remembered, that the name *Willy*, for some reason or other which it is now in vain to seek, appears to have been applied

by the poets of Shakspeare's age to persons who were not christened *William*. Thus, (as Dr. Farmer observes to me,) in "An Eglogue made long since on the death of Sir *Philip* Sydney," which is preserved in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602, we find that celebrated writer lamented in almost every stanza by the name of *Willy*:

"*Willy* is dead,
"That wont to lead
"Our flocks and us, in mirth and shepheard's glee," &c.

"Of none but *Willie's* pipe they made account," &c.

Spenser's *Willy*, however, could not have been Sir Philip Sydney, for he was dead some years before the *Tears of the Muses* was published.

If these lines were intended to allude to our author, then he must have written some comedies in or before the year 1591; and the date which I have assigned to *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is erroneous. I cannot expect to influence the decision of my reader on a subject on which I have not been able to form a decided opinion myself; and therefore shall content myself with merely stating the difficulties on each side. Supposing Shakspeare to have written any piece in the year 1590, Sir John Harrington's silence concerning him in the following year appears inexplicable.

But whatever poet may have been in Spenser's contemplation, it is certain that Shakspeare had commenced a writer for the stage, and had even excited the jealousy of his contemporaries, before September, 1592. This is now decisively proved by a passage extracted by Mr. Tyrwhitt from Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Witte, bought with a Million of Repentance*, in which there is an evident

allusion to our author's name, as well as to a line in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.*

This tract was published at the dying request of Robert Greene, a very voluminous writer of that time. The conclusion of it, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, is "an address to his brother poets to dissuade them from writing for the stage, on account of the ill treatment which they were used to receive from the players." It begins thus: "*To those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance that spend their wits in making playes*, R. G. *wisheth a better exercise, and wisdome to prevent his extremities.*" His first address is undoubtedly to Christopher Marlowe, the most popular and admired dramatick poet of that age, previous to the appearance of Shakspeare. "Wonder not," (says Greene,) "for with thee will I first begin, thou famous gracer of tragedians, that Greene, (who hath said *with thee*, like the foole in his heart, there is no God,) should now give glory unto his greatness; for penetrating is his power, his hand is heavy upon me; &c. Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, be so blinded, that thou should give no glory to the giver?—The brother [f. *breather*] of this diabolical atheism is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie he aimed at: but as he beganne in craft, lived in feare, and ended in despair. And wilt thou, my friend, be his disciple?—Looke unto me, by him persuaded to that libertie, and thou shalt find it an infernal bondage."

Greene's next address appears to be made to Thomas Lodge. "With thee I joyne young Juvenall, that byting satirist, that lastly with mee together writ a comedie. Sweet boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words: inveigh against vaine men, for thou

canst do it, no man better, no man so well: thou hast libertie to reprove all, and name none.—Stop shallow water still running, it will rage; tread on a worme, and it will turn; then blame not schollers, who are vexed with sharpe and bitter lines, if they reproove too much libertie of reproof."

George Peele, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, is next addressed. "And thou no lesse deserving than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferior, driven, as my selfe, to extreame shifts, a little have I to say to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oath, I would sweare by sweet *S. George*, thou art unworthy better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base-minded men all three of you, if by my misery you be not warned: for unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave; those puppets, I meane, that speake from our mouths; those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have bin beholding, is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, shall (were yee in that case that I am now) be both of them at once forsaken? *Yes, trust them not, for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his* tygres heart wrapt in a players hide, *supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute* Johannes fac-totum, *is in his own conceit the only* Shake-scene *in a countrey.* O that I might intreat your rare wittes to be employed in more profitable courses; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaynte them with your admired inventions."

This tract appears to have been written by Greene not long before his death; for near the conclusion he says, "Albeit *weakness will scarce suffer me to write*, yet to my fellow-scollers about this city will

I direct these few insuing lines." He died, according to Dr. Gabriel Harvey's account, on the third of September, 1592.[5]

I have lately met with a very scarce pamphlet entitled *Kind Harts Dreame*, written by Henry Chettle, from the preface to which it appears that *he* was the editor of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, and that it was published between September and December, 1592.[6] Our poet, we find, was not without reason displeased at the preceding allusion to him. As what Chettle says of him, corresponds with the character which all his contemporaries have given him, and the piece is extremely rare, I shall extract from the Address *to the Gentlemen Readers*, what relates to the subject before us:

"About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers' hands, among others his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be revenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author: and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have, all the time of my conversing in printing, hindered the bitter inveighing against schollers, it hath been very well known; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prove. With *neither* of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them [Marlowe] I care not if I never be. The other, [Shakspeare,]

[5] Additions by Oldys to Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, MS.

[6] Probably in October, for on the Stationers' books I find *The Repentaunce of Robert Greene, Master of Arts*, entered by John Danter, Oct. 6, 1592. The full title of Greene's pamphlet is, "Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of* Repentance."

whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, (especially in such a case, the author being dead,) that I did not, I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault; because *my selfe have seen his demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art.* For the first, whose learning I reverence, and at the perusing of Greene's booke, strooke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ; or had it been true, yet to publish it was intollerable; him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share: it was il written, as sometime Greene's hand was none of the best; licensed it must bee, ere it could be printed, which could never bee if it could not be read. To be brief, I writ it over, and as near as I could followed the copy; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole book not a word in; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine, nor Master Nashes, as some unjustly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle to *The Second Part of Gerileon;* though by the workman's error T. N. were set to the end: that I confess to be mine, and repent it not.

"Thus, Gentlemen, having noted the private causes that made me nominate myself in print, being as well to purge Master Nashe of what he did not, as to justifie what I did, and withall to confirm what M. Greene did, I beseech you to accept the publick cause, which is both the desire of your delight and common benefit; for though the toye

bee shadowed under the title of *Kind Harts Dreame*, it discovers the false hearts of divers that wake to commit mischief," &c.

That I am right in supposing the two who took offence at Greene's pamphlet were Marlowe and Shakspeare, whose names I have inserted in a preceding paragraph in crotchets, appears from the passage itself already quoted; for there was nothing in Greene's exhortation to Lodge and Peele, the other two persons addressed, by which either of them could possibly be offended. Dr. Farmer is of opinion that the second person addressed by Greene is not *Lodge*, but *Nashe*, who is often called *Juvenal* by the writers of that time; but that he was not meant, is decisively proved by the extract from Chettle's pamphlet; for he never would have laboured to vindicate Nashe from being the writer of the *Groatsworth of Wit*, if any part of it had been professedly addressed to him.[7] Besides, Lodge had written a play in conjunction with Greene, called *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, and was author of some satirical pieces; but we do not know that Nashe and Greene had ever written in conjunction.

Henry Chettle was himself a dramatick writer, and appears to have become acquainted with Shakspeare, or at least seen him, between Sept. 1592, and the following December. Shakspeare was at this time twenty-eight years old; and then we find from the testimony of this writer *his demeanour was no less civil than he excellent in the qualitie he professed*. From the subsequent paragraph—"Divers

[7] Nashe himself also takes some pains in an Epistle prefixed to *Pierce Pennilesse* &c. to vindicate himself from being the author of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*.

of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art,—" it may be reasonably presumed, that he had exhibited more than one comedy on the stage before the end of the year 1592; perhaps *Love's Labour's Lost* in a less perfect state than it now appears in, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

In what time soever he became acquainted with the theatre, we may presume that he had not composed his first piece long before it was acted; for being early incumbered with a young family, and not in very affluent circumstances, it is improbable that he should have suffered it to lie in his closet, without endeavouring to derive some profit from it; and in the miserable state of the drama in those days the meanest of his genuine plays must have been a valuable acquisition, and would hardly have been refused by any of our ancient theatres.

In a *Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI.* which I have subjoined to those plays, I have mentioned that I do not believe *The First Part of King Henry VI.* to have been the composition of Shakspeare; or that at most he wrote but one or two scenes in it. It is unnecessary here to repeat the circumstances on which that opinion is founded. Not being Shakspeare's play, (as I conceive,) at whatever time it might have been first exhibited, it does not interfere with the supposition already stated, that he had not produced any dramatick piece before 1590.

The First Part of King Henry VI. which, I imagine, was formerly known by the name of *The Historical Play of King Henry VI.* had, I suspect, been a very popular piece for some years before 1592, and perhaps was first exhibited in 1588 or

in 1589. Nashe, in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devill*, which was first published in 1592,[8] expressly mentions one of the characters in it, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who dies in the fourth act of the piece, and who is not, I believe, introduced in any other play of that time. "How" (says he) "would it have joyed brave Talbot, *the terror of the French*,[9] to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least, (at several times,) who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding?"

In the Dissertation above referred to, I have endeavoured to prove that this play was written neither by Shakspeare, nor by the author or authors of the other two plays formed on a subsequent period of the reign of Henry the Sixth. By whom it *was* written, it is now, I fear, impossible to ascertain. It was not entered on the Stationers' books nor printed, till the year 1623, when it was registered with Shakspeare's undisputed plays by the editors of the first folio, and improperly entitled *The* Third *Part of King Henry VI.* In one sense it might be called so, for two plays on the

[8] *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication* &c. was first published in that year, being entered for the first time on the Stationers' books by Richard Jones, Aug. 1592. There was a second edition in the same year, printed by Abell Jeffes for John Busbie.

[9] Thus Talbot is described in *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* Act. I. sc. iii:

"Here, said they, is *the terror of the French*."

Again, in Act V. sc. i:

"Is Talbot slain, the Frenchman's only scourge,
"Your kingdom's *terror?*"

subject of that reign had been printed before. But considering the history of that king, and the period of time which the piece comprehends, it ought to have been called, what in fact it is, *The First Part of King Henry VI.*

At this distance of time it is impossible to ascertain on what principle it was that our author's friends, Heminge and Condell, admitted *The* First *Part of King Henry VI.* into their volume: but I suspect they gave it a place as a necessary introduction to the two other parts, and because Shakspeare had made some slight alterations, and written a few new lines in it.

Titus Andronicus, as well as *The First Part of King Henry VI.* may be referred to the year 1589, or to an earlier period; but not being in the present edition admitted into the regular series of our author's dramas, I have not given it a place in the preceding table of his plays. In a note prefixed to that play, which may be found in Vol. XXI. p. 3, *& seq.* I have declared my opinion that *Andronicus* was not written by Shakspeare, or that at most a very few lines in it were written by him; and have stated the reasons on which that opinion is founded. From Ben Jonson's Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, we learn that this piece had been exhibited on the stage twenty-five or thirty years before, that is, at the lowest computation, in 1589; or, taking a middle period, (which is perhaps more just,) in 1587. "A booke entitled a *Noble Roman History of Titus Andronicus*," (without any author's name,) was entered at Stationers' Hall by John Danter, Feb. 6, 1593-4. This was undoubtedly the play, as it was printed in that year, according to Langbaine, who alone appears to have seen the first edition, and acted by

the servants of the Earls of Pembroke, Derby, and Sussex. Of this play there was a second edition in quarto in 1611, in the title-page of which neither the name of Shakspeare, (though he was in the zenith of his reputation,) nor of any author, is found, and therefore we may presume that the title-page of the first edition also (like the entry on the Stationers' books) was anonymous. Marlowe's *King Edward II.* and some other old plays were performed by the servants of the Earl of Pembroke, by whom not one of Shakspeare's undisputed dramas was exhibited.

2. } Second and Third Parts of K. Henry VI.
3. }

1591.

In a Dissertation annexed to these plays, I have endeavoured to prove that they were not written *originally* by Shakspeare, but formed by him on two preceding dramas, one of which is entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, &c. and the other *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. My principal object in that Dissertation was, to show from various circumstances that those two old plays which were printed in 1600, were written by some writer or writers who preceded Shakspeare, and moulded by him, with many alterations and additions, into the shape in which they at present appear in his works under the titles of *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*; and if I have proved that point, I have obtained my end. I ventured, however, to go somewhat further, and to hazard a conjecture concerning the persons by whom they were composed: but this was not at all material to my principal argument, which, whether my con-

jectures on that head were well or ill founded, will remain the same.

The passage which has been already quoted from Greene's pamphlet, led me to suspect that the old plays were the production of either him, or Peele, or both of them. I too hastily supposed that the words which have been printed in a former page,—" Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with *our* feathers," &c. as they immediately followed a paragraph addressed to George Peele, were addressed to him particularly; and consequently that the word *our* meant Peele and Greene, the writer of the pamphlet: but these words manifestly relate equally to the *three* persons previously addressed, and allude to the theatrical compositions of Marlowe, Lodge, Peele, and Greene; whether we consider the writer to lament in general that players avail themselves of the labours of authors, and derive more profit from them than the authors themselves, or suppose him to allude to some particular dramatick performances, which had been originally composed by himself or one of his friends, and thrown into a new form by some other dramatist, who was also a player. The two old plays therefore on which *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* were formed, may have been written by any one or more of the authors above enumerated. Towards the end of the Essay I have produced a passage from the old *King John*, 1591, from which it appeared to me probable that the two elder dramas, which comprehend the greater part of the reign of King Henry VI. were written by the author of *King John*, who ever he was; and some circumstances which have lately struck me, confirm an opinion which I formerly hazarded, that Christopher Mar-

lowe was the author of that play. A passage in his historical drama of *King Edward II.* which Dr. Farmer has pointed out to me since the Dissertation was printed, also inclines me to believe, with him, that Marlowe was the author of one, if not both, of the old dramas on which Shakspeare formed the two plays which in the first folio edition of his works are distinguished by the titles of *The* Second *and* Third *Parts of King Henry VI.*

Two lines in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* have been produced as a decisive and incontrovertible proof that these pieces were originally and entirely written by Shakspeare. "Who" (says Mr. Capell,) "sees not the future monster, and *acknowledges at the same time the pen that drew it,* in these two lines only, spoken over a king who lies stabb'd before him, [i. e. before Richard Duke of Gloster,]—

> "What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
> "Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted."

let him never pretend to discernment hereafter, in any case of this nature."

The two lines above quoted are found in *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke,* &c. on which, according to my hypothesis, Shakspeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* was formed. If therefore these lines decisively mark the hand of Shakspeare, the *old* as well as the *new* play must have been written by him, and the fabrick which I have built with some labour, falls at once to the ground. But let not the reader be alarmed; for if it suffers from no other battery but this, it may last till "the crack of doom." Marlowe, as Dr. Farmer observes

to me, has the very same phraseology in *King Edward II*:

> "—— scorning that the lowly *earth*
> "*Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.*"

and in the same play I have lately noticed another line in which we find the very epithet here applied to the pious Lancastrian king:

> "Frown'st thou thereat, *aspiring Lancaster?*"

So much for Mr. Capell's irrefragable proof. It is not the proper business of the present Essay to enter further into this subject. I merely seize this opportunity of saying, that the preceding passages now incline me to think Marlowe the author of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. and perhaps of the other old drama also, entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster.*

The latter drama was entered on the Stationers' books by T. Millington, March 12, 1593-4. This play, however, (on which *The* Second *Part of King Henry VI.* is formed,) was not then printed; nor was *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. on which Shakspeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* is founded, entered at Stationers' Hall at the same time: but they were both printed *anonymously* by Thomas Millington, in quarto, in the year 1600.

A very ingenious friend has suggested to me, that it is not probable that Shakspeare would have ventured to use the ground-work of another dramatist, and form a new play upon it, in the lifetime of the author or authors. I know not how much weight this argument is entitled to. We are

certain that Shakspeare *did* transcribe a whole scene almost *verbatim* from *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, and incorporate it into his own play on the same subject; and we do not know that the author of the original play was then dead. Supposing, however, this argument to have some weight, it does not tend in the slightest degree to overturn my hypothesis that *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* were formed on the two preceding dramas, of which I have already given the titles; but merely to show, that I am either mistaken in supposing that they were new-modelled and re-written in 1591, or in my conjecture concerning the authors of the elder pieces on which those of Shakspeare were formed. Greene died in September, 1592, and Marlowe about May, 1593. By assigning our poet's part in these performances to the end of the year 1593 or the beginning of 1594, this objection is done away, whether we suppose Greene to have been the author of one of the elder plays, and Marlowe of the other, or that celebrated writer the author of them both.

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that Ben Jonson particularly alludes in the following verses to our poet's having followed the steps of Marlowe in the plays now under our consideration, and greatly *surpassed* his original:

> "For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
> "I should commit thee surely with thy peers;
> "And tell how much thou did'st our Lily *out-shine*,
> "Or sporting Kyd, or *Marlowe's* mighty line."

From the epithet *sporting*, which is applied to Kyd, and which is certainly in some measure a quibble on his name, it is manifest that he must have produced some *comick* piece upon the scene,

as well as the two tragedies of his composition, which are now extant, *Cornelia*, and *The Spanish Tragedy*. This latter is printed, like many plays of that time, anonymously. Dr. Farmer with great probability suggests to me, that Kyd might have been the author of *The* old *Taming of a Shrew* printed in 1594, on which Shakspeare formed a play with nearly the same title.[1] The praise which Ben Jonson gives to Shakspeare, that he "*outshines* Marlowe and Kyd," on this hypothesis, will appear to stand on one and the same foundation; namely on his eclipsing those ancient dramatists by new-modelling their plays, and producing pieces much superior to theirs, on stories which they had already formed into dramas, that, till Shakspeare appeared, satisfied the publick, and were classed among the happiest efforts of dramatick art.

4. A Midsummer-Night's Dream, 1592.

The poetry of this piece, glowing with all the warmth of a youthful and lively imagination, the many scenes which it contains of almost continual rhyme,[2] the poverty of the fable, and want of discrimination among the higher personages, dispose me to believe that it was one of our author's earliest attempts in comedy.[3]

[1] Kyd was also, I suspect, the author of the old plays of *Hamlet*, and of *King Leir*. See p. 275.

[2] See p. 261, n. 3.

[3] Dryden was of opinion that *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, was our author's first dramatick composition:

"Shakspeare's own muse his *Pericles* first bore,
"*The Prince of Tyre* was elder than *The Moor*."

Prologue to the tragedy of *Circe*, by Charles D'Avenant, 1677.

It seems to have been written, while the ridiculous competitions prevalent among the histrionick tribe, were strongly impressed by novelty on his mind. He would naturally copy those manners first, with which he was first acquainted. The ambition of a theatrical candidate for applause he

Mr. Rowe in his *Life of Shakspeare* (first edition) says, "There is good reason to believe that the greatest part of *Pericles* was not written by him, though *it is owned some part of it certainly was, particularly the last Act.*" I have not been able to learn on what authority the latter assertion was grounded. Rowe in his second edition omitted the passage.

Pericles was not entered on the Stationers' books till May 2, 1608, nor printed till 1609; but the following lines in a metrical pamphlet, entitled *Pimlyco, or Runne Red-cap*, 1609, ascertain it to have been written and exhibited on the stage, prior to that year:

"Amazde I stood to see a crowd
"Of civil throats stretch'd out so lowd:
"(As at a new play,) all the roomes
"Did swarm with gentiles mix'd with groomes;
"So that I truly thought all these
"Came to see *Shore* or *Pericles*."

The play of *Jane Shore* is mentioned (together with another very ancient piece not now extant) in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1613: "I was ne'er at one of these plays before; but I should have seen *Jane Shore*, and my husband hath promised me any time this twelvemonth to carry me to *The Bold Beauchamps*." The date of *The Bold Beauchamps* is in some measure ascertained by a passage in D'Avenant's *Playhouse to be let:*

"——— There is an old tradition,
"That in the times of mighty *Tamburlaine*,
"Of conjuring *Faustus*, and *The Beauchamps Bold*,
"You poets used to have the second day."

Tamburlain and *Faustus* were exhibited in or before 1590.

The lamentable end of Shore's wife also made a part of the old anonymous play of *King Richard III.* which was entered in the Stationers' books, June 19, 1594. Both the dramas in which *Jane Shore* was introduced were probably on the stage soon after 1590; and from the manner in which *Pericles* is mentioned in the verses above quoted, we may presume, that drama was equally ancient and equally well known.

has happily ridiculed in *Bottom* the weaver. But among the more dignified persons of the drama we look in vain for any traits of character. The manners of Hippolita, *the Amazon*, are undistinguished from those of other females. Theseus, the associate of Hercules, is not engaged in any adventure worthy of his rank or reputation, nor is he in reality an agent throughout the play. Like King Henry VIII. he goes out a Maying. He meets the lovers in perplexity, and makes no effort to promote their happiness; but when supernatural accidents have reconciled them, he joins their company, and concludes his day's entertainment by uttering some miserable puns at an interlude represented by a troop of clowns. Over the fairy part of the drama he cannot be supposed to have any influence. This part of the fable, indeed, (at least as much of it as relates to the quarrels of Oberon and Titania,) was not of our author's invention.[*]—Through the whole piece, the more

[*] The learned editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, printed in 1775, observes in his introductory discourse, (Vol. IV. p. 161,) that Pluto and Proserpina in the Marchant's Tale, appear to have been "the true progenitors of Shakspeare's Oberon and Titania." In a tract already quoted, *Greene's Groatsworth of Witte*, 1592, a player is introduced, who boasts of having performed the part of *the King of Fairies* with applause. Greene himself wrote a play, entitled *The Scottishe Historie of James the Fourthe, slaine at Flodden, intermixed with a pleasant Comedie presented by Oberon King of Fayeries*; which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and printed in 1598. Shakspeare, however, does not appear to have been indebted to this piece. The plan of it is shortly this. Bohan, a Scot, in consequence of being disgusted with the world, having retired to a tomb where he has fixed his dwelling, is met by *Aster Oberon*, king of the fairies, who entertains him with an antick or dance by his subjects. These two personages, after some conversation, determine to listen to a tragedy, which is acted before them, and to which they make a kind of chorus, by moralising at the end of each Act.

exalted characters are subservient to the interests of those beneath them. We laugh with Bottom and his fellows, but is a single passion agitated by the faint and childish solicitudes of Hermia and Demetrius, of Helena and Lysander, those shadows of each other?—That a drama, of which the principal personages are thus insignificant, and the fable thus meagre and uninteresting, was one of our author's earliest compositions, does not, therefore, seem a very improbable conjecture; nor are the beauties with which it is embellished, inconsistent with this supposition; for the genius of Shakspeare, even in its minority, could embroider the coarsest materials with the brightest and most lasting colours.

Oberon and *Titania* had been introduced in a dramatick entertainment exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in 1591, when she was at Elvetham in Hampshire; as appears from *A Description of the Queene's Entertainment in Progress at Lord Hartford's*, &c. printed in 4to. in 1591. Her majesty, after having been pestered a whole afternoon with speeches in verse from the three Graces, Sylvanus, Wood Nymphs, &c. is at length addressed by the Fairy Queen, who presents her majesty with a chaplet,

"Given me by Auberon [Oberon] the fairie king."

A Midsummer-Night's Dream was not entered at Stationers' Hall till Oct. 8, 1600, in which year it was printed; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598.

From the comedy of *Doctor Dodipoll*, Mr. Steevens has quoted a line, which the author seems to have borrowed from Shakspeare:

" 'Twas I that led you through the painted meads,
" Where the light *fairies* danc'd upon the *flowers*,
" *Hanging in every leaf an orient pearl.*"

So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:*

" And *hang a pearl* in ev'ry cowslip's ear."

Again:

" And that same dew, which sometimes on the buds
" Was wont to swell, like round and *orient pearls*,
" Stood now within the pretty *flouret's* eyes,
" Like tears," &c.

There is no earlier edition of the anonymous play in which the foregoing lines are found, than that in 1600; but *Doctor Dodipowle* is mentioned by Nashe, in his preface to *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, printed in 1596.

The passage in the fifth Act, which has been thought to allude to the death of Spenser,[5] is not inconsistent with the early appearance of this comedy; for it might have been inserted between the time of that poet's death, and the year 1600, when the play was published. And indeed, if the allusion was intended, which I do not believe, the passage must have been added in that interval; for *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* was certainly written in, or before 1598, and Spenser, we are told by Sir James Ware, (whose testimony with respect to this controverted point must have great weight,) did not die till 1599: " others, (he adds,) have it *wrongly*, 1598."[6] So careful a searcher into anti-

[5] " The thrice three muses, mourning for the death
" Of learning, *late* deceas'd in beggary."

[6] Preface to Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland.* Dublin.

quity, who lived so near the time, is not likely to

fol. 1633. This treatise was written, according to Sir James Ware, in 1596. The testimony of that historian, relative to the time of Spenser's death, is confirmed by a fact related by Ben Jonson to Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, and recorded by that writer. When Spenser and his wife were forced in great distress to fly from their house, which was burnt in the Irish Rebellion, the Earl of Essex sent him twenty pieces; but he refused them; telling the person that brought them, he was sure he had no time to spend them. He died soon afterwards, according to Ben Jonson's account, in King Street. Lord Essex was not in Ireland in 1598, and was there from April to September in the following year.

It should also be remembered that verses by Spenser are prefixed to Lewknor's *Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, published in 1599.

That this celebrated poet was alive in Sept. 1598, is proved by the following paper, addressed by Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices of Ireland, which is preserved in the Museum, *MSS. Harl.* 286, and has not, I believe, been noticed by any of his biographers:

"Last of Sept. 1598.

"To the Lords Justices of Ireland.

"Though we doubt not but you will without any motion from us have good regard for the appointing of meete and serviceable persons to be Sheriffs in the several counties, which is a matter of great importance, especially at this time, when all parts of the realme are tinged with the infection of rebellion, yet wee thinke it not amisse sometime to recommend unto you such men as wee should [wish] to have for that office. Among whom we may justly reckon Edm. Spenser, a gentleman dwelling in the county of Corke, who is so well known unto you all for his good and commendable parts, (being a man endowed with good knowledge in learning, and not unskilful or without experience in the service of the warres,) as we need not use many words in his behalf. And therefore as we are of opinion that you will favour him for himselfe and of your own accord, so we do pray you that this letter may increase his credit so far forth with you as that he may not fayle to be appointed Sheriffe of the county of Corke, unlesse there be to you knowne some important cause to the contrary.

"We are persuaded he will so behave himselfe in this particular as you shall have just cause to allowe of our recommendation and his good service. And so," &c.

have been mistaken in a fact, concerning which he appears to have made particular inquiries.

The passage in question, however, in my apprehension, has been misunderstood. It relates, I conceive, not to the death of Spenser, but to *the nine Muses lamenting the decay of learning*, in that author's poem entitled *The Tears of the Muses*, which was published in 1591: and hence probably the words, "*late* deceas'd in beggary." This allusion, if I am right in my conjecture, may serve to confirm the date assigned to *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

5. Comedy of Errors, 1593.

The only note of time that occurs in this play is found in the following passage:

"*Ant. S.* In what part of her body stands—*France?*"

"*Drom. S.* In her forehead, arm'd and reverted, making war against the *hair*."

I have no doubt that an equivoque was here intended, and that, beside the obvious sense, an allusion was intended to King Henry IV. the *heir* of France,[7] concerning whose succession to the throne there was a civil war in that country, from August 1589, when his father was assassinated, for several years. Henry, after struggling long against the power and force of the League, extricated himself from all his difficulties by embracing the Roman Catholick religion at St. Denis, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, and was crowned King of France in Feb. 1594; I therefore imagine this play

[7] The words *heir* and *hair* were, I make no doubt, pronounced alike in Shakspeare's time, and hence they are frequently confounded in the old copies of his plays.

was written before that period. In 1591 Lord Essex was sent with 4000 troops to the French King's assistance, and his brother Walter was killed before Rouen in Normandy. From that time till Henry was peaceably settled on the throne, many bodies of troops were sent by Queen Elizabeth to his aid: so that his situation must then have been a matter of notoriety, and a subject of conversation in England.

This play was neither entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and exhibits internal proofs of having been one of Shakspeare's earliest productions. I formerly supposed that it could not have been written till 1596; because the translation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, from which the plot appears to have been taken, was not published till 1595. But on a more attentive examination of that translation, I find that Shakspeare might have seen it before publication; for from the printer's advertisement to the reader, it appears that for some time before it had been handed about in MS. among the translator's friends. The piece was entered at Stationers' Hall, June 10, 1594, and as the author had translated all the comedies of Plautus, it may be presumed that the whole work had been the employment of some years: and this might have been one of the earliest translated. Shakspeare must also have read some other account of the same story not yet discovered; for how otherwise could he have got the names of *Erraticus* and *Surreptus*, which do not occur in the translation of Plautus? There the brothers are called Menæchmus *Sosicles*, and Menæchmus *the traveller*.

The *alternate* rhymes that are found in this play, as

well as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, are a further proof that these pieces were amongour author's earliest productions. We are told by himself that *Venus and Adonis* was "the first heir of his invention." *The Rape of Lucrece* probably followed soon afterwards. When he turned his thoughts to the stage, the measure which he had used in those poems, naturally presented itself to him in his first dramatick essays: I mean in those plays which were written *originally* by himself. In those which were grounded, like the *Henries*, on the preceding productions of other men, he naturally followed the example before him, and consequently in those pieces no alternate rhymes are found.

The doggrel measure, which, if I recollect right, is employed in none of our author's plays except *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, also adds support to the dates assigned to these plays: for these long doggrel verses, as I have observed in a note at the end of the piece now under our consideration, are written in that kind of metre which was usually attributed by the dramatick poets before his time to some of their inferior characters. He was imperceptibly infected with the prevailing mode in these his early compositions; but soon learned to "deviate boldly from the common track," left by preceding writers.

A play with the same title as that before us, was exhibited at Gray's Inn in December, 1594; but I know not whether it was Shakspeare's play, or a translation from Plautus. "After such sports, (says the writer of *Gesta Grayorum*, 1688,) *a Comedy of Errors, like* to Plautus his *Menechmus*, was

played by the players: so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors. Whereupon it was ever afterwards called *the Night of Errors.*" The Registers of Gray's Inn have been examined for the purpose of ascertaining whether the play above mentioned was our author's; but they afford no information on the subject.

From its having been represented, by *the players*, not by the gentlemen of the inn, I think it probable that it was Shakspeare's piece.

The name of *Dowsabel*, which is mentioned in this play, occurs likewise in an Eclogue entitled *The Shepherd's Garland*, by Michael Drayton, printed in 4to. in 1593.

6. The Taming of the Shrew, 1594.

This play and *The Winter's Tale* are the only pieces which I have found reason, since the first edition of this Essay appeared, to attribute to an era widely different from that in which I had originally placed them.[s] I had supposed the piece now under consideration to have been written in the year 1606. On a more attentive perusal of it, and more experience in our author's style and manner, I am persuaded that it was one of his very early productions, and near in point of time to *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

In the old comedies, antecedent to the time of our author's writing for the stage, (if indeed they

[s] A *minute* change has been made in the arrangement of five other plays; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Cymbeline*; but the variation is not more than a period of two or three years.

deserve that name,) a kind of doggrel measure is often found, which, as I have already observed, Shakspeare adopted in some of those pieces which were undoubtedly among his early compositions; I mean his *Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. This kind of metre being found also in the play before us, adds support to the supposition that it was one of his early productions. The last four lines of this comedy furnish an example of the measure I allude to:

> " 'Twas I won the wager, though you hit the white,
> " And being a winner, God give you good night.
> " Now go thy ways, thou hast tam'd a curst shrew,
> " 'Tis a wonder, by your leave, she will be tam'd so."

Another proof of *The Taming of the Shrew* being an early production arises from the frequent play of words which we find in it, and which Shakspeare has condemned in a subsequent comedy.

Some of the incidents in this comedy are taken from the *Supposes* of Gascoigne, an author of considerable popularity, when Shakspeare first began to write for the stage.

The old piece entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*, on which our author's play is founded, was entered on the Stationers' books by Peter Short, May 2, 1594, and probably soon afterwards printed. As it bore nearly the same title with Shakspeare's play, (which was not printed till 1623,) the hope of getting a sale for it under the shelter of a celebrated name, was probably the inducement to issue it out at that time; and its entry at Stationers' Hall, and publication in 1594,[a] (for from the passage quoted below it must have been published,[b]) gives weight

[a] It was published in 1596, and copies of the edition are in the libraries of the Dukes of Bridgwater and Roxburgh. Reed.

[b] From a passage in a tract written by Sir John Harrington,

to the supposition that Shakspeare's play was written and first acted in that year. There being no edition of the genuine play in print, the bookseller hoped that the old piece with a similar title might pass on the common reader for Shakspeare's performance. This appears to have been a frequent practice of the booksellers in those days; for Rowley's play of *King Henry VIII.* I am persuaded, was published in 1605, and 1613, with the same view; as were *King Leir and his Three Daughters* in 1605, and Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæsar* in 1607.

In the year 1607 it is highly probable that this comedy of our author's was revived, for in that year Nicholas Ling republished *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, with the same intent, as it should seem, with which that piece had originally been issued out by another bookseller in 1594. In the entry made by Ling in the Stationers' books, January 22, 1606-7, he joined with this old drama two of Shakspeare's genuine plays, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, neither of which he ever published, nor does his name appear in the title page of any one of our author's performances; so that those two plays could only have been set down by him, along with the other, with some fraudulent intent.

In the same year also, (Nov. 17,) our author's genuine play was entered at Stationers' Hall, by J. Smethwyck[1] (one of the proprietors of the second folio);

entitled *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, this old play appears to have been printed before that time, probably in the year 1594, when it was entered at Stationers' Hall; though no edition of so early a date has hitherto been discovered. "*Read*" (says Sir John) "the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that now every one can rule a shrew in our country, save he that hath her."

[1] For this bookseller *Romeo and Juliet* was printed in 4to. in

which circumstance gives additional weight to the supposition that the play was *revived* in that year. Smethwyck had probably procured a copy of it, and had then thoughts of printing it, though for some reason, now undiscoverable, it was not printed by him till 1631, eight years after it had appeared in the edition by the players in folio.

It should be observed that there is a slight variation between the titles of the anonymous play and Shakspeare's piece; both of which, in consequence of the inaccuracy of Mr. Pope, and his being very superficially acquainted with the phraseology and manner of our early writers, were for a long time unjustly attributed to our poet. The old drama was called *The Taming of* a *Shrew*; Shakspeare's comedy, *The Taming of* the *Shrew*.

It must not be concealed, however, that *The Taming of the Shrew* is not enumerated among our author's plays by Meres in 1598; a circumstance which yet is not sufficient to prove that it was not then written: for neither is *Hamlet* nor *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* mentioned by him; though those three plays had undoubtedly appeared before that year.

I formerly imagined that a line[2] in this comedy alluded to an old play written by Thomas Heywood, entitled *A Woman kill'd with Kindness*, of which the second edition was printed in 1607, and the first probably not before the year 1600; but the

1600, and an edition of *Hamlet* without date; the latter was printed either in that year or 1607.

[2] "This is the way to kill a wife with kindness." *Taming of the Shrew*, Act IV. sc. i. Heywood's play is mentioned in *The Black Booke*, 4to. 1604. I am not possessed of the first edition of it, nor is it in any of the great collections of old plays that I have seen.

other proofs which I have already stated with respect to the date of the play before us, have convinced me that I was mistaken.

7. Love's Labour's Lost, 1594.

Shakspeare's natural disposition leading him, as Dr. Johnson has observed, to comedy, it is highly probable that his first *original* dramatick production was of the comick kind: and of his comedies *Love's Labour's Lost* appears to me to bear strong marks of having been one of his earliest essays. The frequent rhymes with which it abounds,[3] of

[3] As this circumstance is more than once mentioned, in the course of these observations, it may not be improper to add a few words on the subject of our author's metre. A mixture of rhymes with blank verse, in the same play, and sometimes in the same scene, is found in almost all his pieces, and is not peculiar to Shakspeare, being also found in the works of Jonson, and almost all our ancient dramatick writers. It is not, therefore, merely the use of rhymes, mingled with blank verse, but their *frequency*, that is here urged, as a circumstance which seems to characterize and distinguish our poet's earliest performances. In the whole number of pieces which were written antecedent to the year 1600, and which, for the sake of perspicuity, have been called his *early compositions*, more rhyming couplets are found, than in all the plays composed subsequently to that year, which have been named his *late productions*. Whether in process of time Shakspeare grew weary of the bondage of rhyme, or whether he became convinced of its impropriety in a dramatick dialogue, his neglect of rhyming (for he never wholly disused it) seems to have been *gradual*. As, therefore, most of his early productions are characterized by the multitude of similar terminations which they exhibit, whenever of two early pieces it is doubtful which preceded the other, I am disposed to believe, (other proofs being wanting,) that play in which the greater number of rhymes is found, to have been first composed. The plays founded on the story of King Henry VI. do not indeed abound in rhymes; but this probably arose from their being *originally* constructed by preceding writers.

which, in his early performances he seems to have been extremely fond, its imperfect versification, its artless and desultory dialogue, and the irregularity of the composition, may be all urged in support of this conjecture.

Love's Labour's Lost was not entered at Stationers' Hall till the 22d of January, 1606-7, but is mentioned by Francis Meres,[4] in his *Wit's Treasury, being the Second Part of Wit's Commonwealth*,[5] in 1598, and was printed in that year. In the title-page of this edition, (the oldest hitherto discovered,) this piece is said to have been *presented before her highness* [Queen Elizabeth] *the last Christmas*, [1597,] and to be *newly corrected and augmented*: from which it should seem, either that there had been a former impression, or that the play had been originally represented in a less perfect state, than that in which it appears at present.

I think it probable, that our author's first draft of this play was written in or before 1594; and that some additions were made to it between that year and 1597, when it was exhibited before the

[4] This writer, to whose list of our author's plays we are so much indebted, appears, from the following passage of the work here mentioned, to have been personally acquainted with Shakspeare:

"As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare. Witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred *Sonnets* among his private friends," &c. *Wit's Treasury*, p. 282. There is no edition of Shakspeare's *Sonnets*, now extant, of so early a date as 1598, when Meres's book was printed; so that we may conclude, he was one of those friends to whom they were privately recited, before their publication.

[5] This book was probably published in the latter end of the year 1598; for it was not entered at Stationers' Hall till September in that year.

Queen. One of those additions may have been the passage which seems to allude to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, by Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596: "Your lion—will be given to *A-jax*."[6] This, however, is not certain; for the conceit of *A-jax* and *a jakes* may not have originated with Harrington, and may hereafter be found in some more ancient tract.

In this comedy Don Armado says,—"The *first* and *second cause* will not serve my turn: the *passado* he respects not, the *duello* he regards not: his disgrace is to be called boy; but his glory is to subdue man." Shakspeare seems here to have had in his thoughts Saviolo's treatise *Of Honour and honourable Quarrels*, published in 1595.[7] This passage also may have been an addition.

Bankes's horse, which is mentioned in the play before us, had been exhibited in London in or before 1589, as appears from a story recorded in Tarlton's *Jests*.[8]

[6] See Vol. VII. p. 187, n. 1.

[7] See a note on *As you like it*, Vol. VIII. p. 181, n. 9.

[8] "There was one Bankes in the time of Tarlton, who served the Earl of Essex, and had a horse of strange qualities; and being at the Cross Keyes in Gracious-streete, getting money with him, as he was mightily resorted to, Tarlton then (with his fellowes) playing at the Bell [f. *Bull*] by, came into the Cross keyes, amongst many people to see fashions: which Bankes perceiving, to make the people laugh, saies, *Signior*, to his horse, *go fetch me the veriest foole in the company*. The jade comes immediately, and with his mouth drawes Tarlton forth. Tarlton, with merry words, said nothing but *God a-mercy, horse*. In the end Tarlton seeing the people laugh so, was angry inwardly, and said, *Sir, had I power of your horse, as you have, I would do more than that. Whate'er it be*, said Bankes, to please him, *I will charge him to do it. Then*, saies Tarlton, *charge him to bring me the veryest whore-master in the company. He shall*, saies Bankes. *Signior*, saies he, *bring Master Tarl-*

In this comedy there is more attempt at delineation of character than in either *The Comedy of Errors* or *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; a circumstance which inclines me to think that it was written subsequently to those plays. Biron and Katharine, as Mr. Steevens, I think, has observed, are faint prototypes of Benedick and Beatrice.

The doggrel verses in this piece, like those in *The Comedy of Errors*, are longer and more hobling than those which have been quoted from *The Taming of the Shrew*:

> "You two are bookmen; can you tell by your wit
> "What was a month old at Cain's birth, that's not five
> weeks old as yet?"—
> "O' my truth most sweet jests! most incony vulgar wit,
> "When it comes so smoothly off, so obscenely as it were,
> so fit," &c.

This play is mentioned in a mean poem intitled *Alba, the Months Minde of a melancholy Lover*, by R. T. Gentleman, printed 1598:

> "*Love's Labour Lost* I once did see, a play
> "Y-cleped so, so called to my paine,
> "Which I to heare to my small joy did stay,
> "Giving attendance to my froward dame:
> "My misgiving mind presaging to me ill,
> "Yet was I drawne to see it 'gainst my will.
> * * * * * *
> "Each actor plaid in cunning wise his part,
> "But chiefly those entrapt in Cupid's snare;
> "Yet all was fained, 'twas not from the hart,
> "They seeme to grieve, but yet they felt no care:
> "'Twas I that griefe indeed did beare in brest,
> "The others did but make a shew in jest."

ton the veryest whore-master in the company. The horse leads his master to him. Then *God-a-mercy, horse,* indeed saies Tarleton. The people had much ado to keep peace: but Bankes and Tarleton had like to have squared, and the horse by, to give aime. But ever after it was a by word thorow London, *God-a-mercy, horse!* and is to this day." Tarleton's *Jests*, 4to. 1611. —Tarleton died in 1589.

Mr. Gildon, in his observations on *Love's Labour's Lost*, says, he "*cannot see why the author gave it this name.*"—The following lines exhibit the train of thoughts which probably suggested to Shakspeare this title, as well as that which anciently was affixed to another of his comedies,—*Love's Labour Won:*

> "To be *in love*, where scorn is bought with groans,
> "Coy looks with heart-sore sighs; one fading moment's mirth
> "With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
> "If haply *won*, perhaps a hapless gain;
> "If *lost*, why then a grievous *labour won*."
> *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act. I. sc. i.

8. Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1595.

This comedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers' Company till 1623, at which time it was first printed; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and bears strong internal marks of an early composition. The comick parts of it are of the same colour with the comick parts of *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream;* and the serious scenes are eminently distinguished by that elegant and pastoral simplicity which might be expected from the early effusions of such a mind as Shakspeare's, when employed in describing the effects of love. In this piece also, as in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, some alternate verses are found.

Sir William Blackstone concurs with me in opinion on this subject; observing, that "one of the great faults of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is the hastening too abruptly and without preparation

to the denouëment, which shows that it was one of Shakspeare's very early performances."

The following lines in Act I. sc. iii. have induced me to ascribe this play to the year 1595:

> " ——— He wonder'd, that your lordship
> " Would suffer him to spend his youth at home,
> " While other men, of slender reputation,
> " Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
> " *Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,*
> " *Some, to discover islands far away.*"

Shakspeare, as has been often observed, gives to almost every country the manners of his own: and though the speaker is here a Veronese, the poet, when he wrote the last two lines, was thinking of England; where voyages for the purpose of *discovering islands far away* were at this time much prosecuted. In 1595, Sir Walter Rawleigh undertook a voyage to the island of Trinidado, from which he made an expedition up the river Oronoque, to discover Guiana. Sir Humphry Gilbert had gone on a similar voyage of discovery the preceding year.

The particular situation of England in 1595 may have suggested the line above quoted: " Some to the wars," &c. In that year it was generally believed that the Spaniards meditated a second invasion of England with a much more powerful and better appointed Armada than that which had been defeated in 1588. Soldiers were levied with great diligence, and placed on the sea-coasts, and two great fleets were equipped; one to encounter the enemy in the British seas; the other to sail to the West-Indies, under the command of Hawkins and Drake, to attack the Spaniards in their own territories. About the same time also Elizabeth sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of

King Henry IV. of France, who had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English Queen, and had newly declared war against Spain. Our author therefore, we see, had abundant reason for both the lines before us:

> "Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,
> "Some to discover islands far away."

Among the marks of love, Speed in this play (Act II. sc. i.) enumerates the walking alone, "like one that had the pestilence." In the year 1593 there had been a great plague, which carried off near eleven thousand persons in London. Shakspeare was undoubtedly there at that time, and his own recollection probably furnished him with this image. There had not been a great plague in the metropolis, if I remember right, since that of 1564, of which our poet could have no personal knowledge, having been born in that year.

Valentinus putting himself at the head of a band of outlaws in this piece, has been supposed to be copied from Sydney's *Arcadia*, where Pylades heads the Helots. The first edition of the *Arcadia* was in 1590.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* there are two allusions to the story of Hero and Leander, which I suspect Shakspeare had read recently before he composed this play. Marlowe's poem on that subject was entered at Stationers' Hall, Sept. 18, 1593, and I believe was published in that or the following year, though I have met with no copy earlier than that printed in quarto in 1598. Though that should have been the first edition, Shakspeare might yet have read this poem soon after the author's death in 1593: for Marlowe's fame was deservedly so high, that a piece left by him for publication

was probably handed about in manuscript among his theatrical acquaintances antecedent to its being issued from the press.

In the following lines of this play,

> " Why, Phaeton, (for thou art Merops' son,)
> " Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,
> " And with thy daring folly burn the world?"

the poet, as Mr. Steevens has observed, might have been furnished with his mythology by the old play of *King John*, in two parts, 4to. 1591:

> " ——— as sometimes *Phaeton*,
> " Mistrusting silly *Merops* for his sire."

If I am right in supposing our author's *King John* to have been written in 1596, it is not improbable that he read the old play with particular attention antecedently to his sitting down to compose a new drama on the subject; perhaps in the preceding year: and this circumstance may add some weight to the date now assigned to the play before us.

9. Romeo and Juliet, 1595.

It has been already observed, that our author in his early plays appears to have been much addicted to rhyming; a practice from which he gradually departed, though he never wholly deserted it. In this piece *more* rhymes, I believe, are found, than in any other of his plays, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* only excepted. This circumstance, the story on which it is founded, so likely to captivate a young poet, the imperfect form in which it originally appeared, and its very

early publication,[9] all incline me to believe that this was Shakspeare's first tragedy; for the three parts of *King Henry VI.* do not pretend to that title.

"A new ballad of *Romeo and Juliet*" (perhaps our author's play,) was entered on the Stationers' books, August 5, 1596,[1] and the first sketch of the play was printed in 1597; but it did not appear in its present form till two years afterwards.

This tragedy was originally represented by the servants of Lord Hunsdon, who was appointed Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth in 1585, and died in July, 1596. As it appears from the title-page of the original edition in 1597, that *Romeo and Juliet* had been *often acted* by the ser-

[9] There is no edition of any of our author's genuine plays extant, prior to 1597, when *Romeo and Juliet* was published.

[1] There is no entry in the Stationers' books relative to the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, antecedent to its publication in 1597, if this does not relate to it. This entry was made by Edward Whyte, and therefore is not likely to have related to the *poem* called *Romeo and Juletta*, which was entered in 1562, by Richard Tottel. How vague the description of plays was at this time, may appear from the following entry, which is found in the Stationers' books, an. 1590, and seems to relate to Marlowe's *tragedy* of *Tamburlaine*, published in that year, by Richard Jones.

"To Richard Jones] Twoe Commical *Discourses* of Tamburlein, the Cythian Shepparde."

In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, as originally performed, several comick interludes were introduced; whence perhaps, the epithet *comical* was added to the title.—As tragedies were sometimes entitled *discourses*, so a grave poem or *sad discourse*, in verse, (to use the language of the time) was frequently denominated a *tragedy*. All the poems inserted in the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, and some of Drayton's pieces, are called *tragedies*, by Meres and other ancient writers. Some of Sir David Lindsay's Poems, though not in a dramatick form, are also by their author entitled *tragedies*.

vants of that nobleman, it probably had been represented in the preceding year.

In the third Act *the first and second cause* are mentioned: that passage, therefore, was probably written after the publication of Saviolo's Book on *Honour and Honourable Quarrels;* which appeared in 1595.

From several passages in the fifth Act of this tragedy it is manifest, I think, that Shakspeare had recently read, and remembered, some of the lines in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, which, I believe, was printed in 1592:[2] the earliest edition, however, that I have seen of that piece is dated in 1594:

> "And nought-respecting death, the last of paines,
> "Plac'd his *pale colours*, (the *ensign* of his might,)
> "Upon his new-got spoil," &c. *Complaint of Rosamond.*
>
> "—— beauty's *ensign* yet
> "Is crimson in thy lips, and in thy cheeks,
> "And *death's pale flag*," &c. *Romeo and Juliet.*
>
> "Decayed roses of discolour'd cheeks
> "Do yet retain some notes of former grace,
> "*And ugly death sits faire within her face.*"
> *Complaint of Rosamond.*
>
> "Death that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath,
> "Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty."
> *Romeo and Juliet.*
>
> "Ah now methinks I see *death dallying seeks*
> "*To entertaine itselfe in love's sweet place.*"
> *Complaint of Rosamond.*

[2] "A booke called *Delia*, containynge diverse sonates, with *the Complainte of Rosamonde*," was entered at Stationers' Hall by Simon Waterson, in Feb. 1591-2, and the latter piece is commended by Nashe in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Divell*, published in 1592.

" ——— Shall I believe
" That unsubstantial *death is amorous?*"
Romeo and Juliet.

If the following passage in an old comedy already mentioned, entitled *Doctor Dodipoll*, which had appeared before 1596, be considered as an imitation, it may add some weight to the supposition that *Romeo and Juliet* had been exhibited before that year:

" The glorious parts of fair Lucilia,
" Take them and join them in the heavenly spheres,
" And fix them there as an eternal light,
" For lovers to adore and wonder at." *Dr. Dodipoll.*

" Take him and cut him out in little stars,
" And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
" That all the world shall be in love with night,
" And pay no worship to the garish sun."
Romeo and Juliet.

In the fifth Act of this tragedy mention is made of the practice of sealing up the doors of those houses in which " the infectious pestilence did reign." Shakspeare probably had himself seen this practised in the plague which raged in London in 1593.

From a speech of the Nurse in this play, which contains these words—" *It is now since the earthquake eleven years,*" &c. Mr. Tyrwhitt conjectured, that *Romeo and Juliet*, or at least part of it, was written in 1591; the novels from which Shakspeare may be supposed to have drawn his story, not mentioning any such circumstance; while on the other hand, there actually was an earthquake in England on the 6th of April, 1580, which he might here have had in view.[3]—It formerly seemed im-

[3] See *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. sc. iii.

probable to me that Shakspeare, when he was writing this tragedy, should have adverted, with such precision, to the date of an earthquake which had been felt in his youth. The passage quoted struck me, as only displaying one of those characteristical traits, which distinguish old people of the lower class; who delight in enumerating a multitude of minute circumstances that have no relation to the business immediately under their consideration,[4] and are particularly fond of computing time from extraordinary events, such as battles, comets, plagues, and earthquakes. This feature of their character our author has in various places strongly marked. Thus (to mention one of many instances,) the Grave-digger in *Hamlet* says that he came to his employment, "of all the days i'the year, that day that the last king *o'ercame Fortinbras*,—that very day that young *Hamlet* was born."—A more attentive perusal, however, of our poet's works, and his frequent allusions to the manners and usages of England, and to the events of his own time, which he has described as taking place wherever his scene happens to lie, have shown me that Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture is not so improbable as I once supposed it. Shakspeare might have laid the foundation of this play in 1591, and finished it at a subsequent period. The passage alluded to is in the *first* Act.

If the earthquake which happened in England in 1580, was in his thoughts, when he composed the first part of this play, and induced him to state

[4] Thus Mrs. Quickly, in *King Henry IV.* reminds Falstaff, that he "swore on a parcel-gilt goblet, to marry her, sitting in her dolphin chamber, at a round table, by a sea-coal fire, on Wednesday in Whitsun-week, when the prince broke his head for likening his father to a singing man of Windsor."

the earthquake at Verona as happening on the day on which Juliet was *weaned*, and *eleven* years before the commencement of the piece, it has led him into a contradiction; for, according to the Nurse's account, Juliet was within a fortnight and odd days of completing her *fourteenth* year; and yet, according to the computation made, she could not well be much more than *twelve* years old. Whether indeed the English earthquake was, or was not, in his thoughts, the nurse's account is inconsistent, and contradictory.

Perhaps Shakspeare was more careful to mark the garrulity, than the precision of the old woman: —or perhaps, he meant this very incorrectness as a trait of her character:—or, without having recourse to either of these suppositions, shall we say, that our author was here, as in some other places, hasty and inattentive? It is certain that there is nothing in which he is less accurate, than the computation of time. Of his negligence in this respect, *As you like it*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Othello*, furnish remarkable instances.[3]

10. Hamlet, 1596.

The following passage is found in *An Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of the Two Universities*, by Thomas Nashe, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, which was published in 1589: "I will turn back to my first text of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators. It is a common practice now a-days, among a sort of

[3] See *Measure for Measure*, Act I. sc. iii. and iv.—*As you like it*, Act IV. sc. i. and iii.—*Othello*, Act III. sc. iii: "I slept the *next night* well," &c.

shifting companions, that runne through every art, and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *Noverint*, whereto they were born, and busie themselves with the endevors of art, that could scarcely latinize their neck-verse if they should have neede; yet English *Seneca*, read by candle-light, yeelds many good sentences, as *Bloud is a beggar*, and so forth: and, if you intreat him faire in a frosty morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say, Handfuls, of tragical speeches. But O grief! *Tempus edax rerum;*—what is it that will last always? The sea exhaled by drops will in continuance be drie; and *Seneca*, let bloud line by line, and page by page, at length must needs die to our stage."

Not having seen the first edition of this tract till a few years ago, I formerly doubted whether the foregoing passage referred to the tragedy of *Hamlet;* but the word *Hamlets* being printed in the original copy in a different character from the rest, I have no longer any doubt upon the subject.

It is manifest from this passage that some play on the story of *Hamlet* had been exhibited before the year 1589; but I am inclined to think that it was not Shakspeare's drama, but an elder performance, on which, with the aid of the old prose History of Hamlet, his tragedy was formed. The great number of pieces which we *know* he formed on the performances of preceding writers,[a] renders it highly probable that some others also of his dramas were constructed on plays that are now lost. Perhaps the original *Hamlet* was written by Thomas Kyd; who was the author of one play (and

[a] See the Dissertation on the Three Parts of *King Henry VI.* Vol. XIV. p. 223.

probably of more) to which no name is affixed.[7] The only tragedy to which Kyd's name is affixed, (*Cornelia*,) is a professed *translation* from the French of Garnier, who, as well as his translator, imitated Seneca. In Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, as in Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, there is, if I may say so, a play represented *within a play:* if the old play of *Hamlet* should ever be recovered, a similar interlude, I make no doubt, would be found there; and somewhat of the same contrivance may be traced in *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, a comedy which perhaps had the same author as the other ancient pieces now enumerated.

Nashe seems to point at some dramatick writer of that time, who had originally been a scrivener or attorney:

> "A clerk foredoom'd his father's soul to cross,
> "Who *penn'd* a stanza when he should engross;"

who, instead of transcribing deeds and pleadings, chose to imitate Seneca's plays, of which a translation had been published many years before. Our author, however freely he may have borrowed from Plutarch and Holinshed, does not appear to be at all indebted to Seneca; and therefore I do not believe that he was the person in Nashe's contemplation. The person alluded to being described as originally bred to the law, (for the trade of *noverint* is the trade of an attorney or conveyancer,[8])

[7] *The Spanish Tragedy.*

[8] "The country lawyers too jog down apace,
"Each with his *noverint universi* face."
Ravenscroft's Prologue prefixed to *Titus Andronicus.* Our ancient deeds were written in Latin, and frequently began with the words, *Noverint Universi.* The form is still retained. *Know all men*, &c.

I formerly conceived that this circumstance also was decisive to show that Shakspeare could not have been aimed at. I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that since the first edition of this essay, I have found reason to believe that I was mistaken. The comprehensive mind of our poet embraced almost every object in nature, every trade, every art; the manners of every description of men, and the general language of almost every profession: but his knowledge of legal terms is not merely such as might be acquired by the casual observation of even his all-comprehending mind; it has the appearance of *technical* skill; and he is so fond of displaying it on all occasions, that I suspect he was early initiated in at least the forms of law; and was employed, while he yet remained at Stratford, in the office of some country attorney, who was at the same time a petty conveyancer, and perhaps also the Seneschal of some manor court. I shall subjoin the proofs below.[9]

[9] "—— for what in me was *purchas'd*,
"Falls upon thee in a much fairer sort."
King Henry IV. P. II.

Purchase is here used in its strict legal sense, in contradistinction to an acquisition by *descent*.

"Unless the devil have him in fee-simple, with fine and recovery." *Merry Wives of Windsor.*

"He is 'rested *on the case*." *Comedy of Errors.*

"—— with *bills* on their necks, *Be it known unto all men by these presents*," &c. *As you like it.*

"—— who writes himself armigero, in any *bill, warrant, quittance*, or *obligation*." *Merry Wives of Windsor.*

"Go with me to a notary, seal me there
"Your *single bond*." *Merchant of Venice.*

"Say, for non-payment that the debt should double."
Venus and Adonis.

On a conditional bond's becoming forfeited for non-payment of

The tragedy of *Hamlet* was not registered in the books of the Stationers' Company till the 26th of

money borrowed, the whole penalty, which is usually the double of the principal sum lent by the obligee, was formerly recoverable at law. To this our poet here alludes.

" But the defendant doth that plea deny;
" To 'cide his title, is impanelled
" A quest of thoughts." *Sonnet* 46.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Dogberry charges the watch to keep their *fellows' counsel and their own*. This Shakspeare transferred from the oath of a grand juryman.

" And let my officers of such a nature
" Make an *extent* upon his house and lands."
As you like it.

" He was taken *with the manner*." *Love's Lab. Lost.*

" *Enfeoff'd* himself to popularity." *King Henry IV.* P. I.

" He will seal the fee-simple of his salvation, and cut the entail from all remainders, and a perpetual succession for it perpetually." *All's well that ends well.*

" Why, let her *except before excepted*." *Twelfth Night.*

" —— which is four terms, or two actions;—and he shall laugh without *intervallums*." *King Henry IV.* P. II.

" —— keeps leets and *law-days*." *King Richard II.*

" *Pray in aid* for kindness." *Antony and Cleopatra.*

No writer but one who had been conversant with the technical language of leases and other conveyances, would have used *determination* as synonymous to *end*. Shakspeare frequently uses the word in that sense. See Vol. XII. p. 202, n. 2; Vol. XIII. p. 127, n. 4; and [Mr. Malone's edit.] Vol. X. p. 202, n. 8. " From and after the *determination* of such term," is the regular language of conveyancers.

" Humbly complaining to your highness."
King Richard III.

" Humbly complaining to your lordship, your orator," &c. are the first words of every bill in chancery.

" A kiss in fee farm! In witness whereof these parties interchangeably have set their hands and seals."
Troilus and Cressida.

" Art thou a *feodary* for this act?" *Cymbeline.*
See the note on that passage, Vol. XVIII. p. 507, 508, n. 3.

July, 1602. I believe it was then published, though the earliest copy now extant is dated in 1604. In the title-page of that copy, the play is said to be "*newly* imprinted, and enlarged to almost as much again *as it was, according to the true and perfect copy;*" from which words it is manifest that a former *less perfect* copy had been issued from the press.

In a tract entitled *Wits Miserie or the World's Madnesse, discovering the incarnate Devils of the Age*, by Thomas Lodge, which was published in quarto in 1596, one of the devils (as Dr. Farmer has observed) is said to be "a foule lubber, and looks as pale as the vizard of the *ghost* who cried so miserably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge.*" If the allusion was to our author's tragedy, this passage will ascertain its appearance in or before 1596; but Lodge may have had the elder play in his contemplation. We *know* however from the testimony of Dr. Gabriel Harvey, that Shakspeare's *Hamlet* had been exhibited before 1598.[1]

"Are those *precepts* served?" says Shallow to Davy, in *King Henry IV.*

Precepts in this sense is a word only known in the office of a Justice of Peace.

"Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,
"Can'st thou *demise* to any child of mine?"

King Richard III.

"——hath *demised*, granted, and to farm let," is the constant language of leases. What *poet* but Shakspeare has used the word *demised* in this sense?

Perhaps it may be said, that our author in the same manner may be proved to have been equally conversant with the terms of divinity or physick. Whenever as large a number of instances of his ecclesiastical or medicinal knowledge shall be produced, what has now been stated will certainly not be entitled to any weight.

[1] See Vol. X. [Mr. Malone's edition] p. 71.

The Case is altered, a comedy, attributed to Ben Jonson, and written before the end of the year 1599,[2] contains a passage, which seems to me to have a reference to this play:

"*Angelo.* But first I'll *play the ghost; I'll call him out.*"[3]

In the second Act of *Hamlet*, a contest between the singing boys of St. Paul's,[4] and the actors of the established theatres, is alluded to. At what time that contest began, is uncertain. But, should it appear not to have commenced till some years after the date here assigned, it would not, I apprehend, be a sufficient reason for ascribing this play to a later period; for, as additions appear to have been made to it after its first production, and we have some authority for attributing the first sketch of it to 1596, or to an earlier period, till that authority is shaken, we may presume, that any passage which is inconsistent with that date, was not in the play originally, but a subsequent insertion.

With respect to the allusion in question, it pro-

[2] This comedy was not printed till 1609, but it had appeared many years before. The time when it was written, is ascertained with great precision by the following circumstances. It contains an allusion to Meres's *Wit's Treasury*, first printed in the latter end of the year 1598, (See p. 262, n. 5,) and is itself mentioned by Nashe in his *Lenten Stuff*, 4to. 1599.—"It is right of the merry cobler's stuff, in that witty play of *The Case is altered*."

[3] Jonson's Works, Vol. VII. p. 362, Whalley's edit.

[4] Between the years 1595 and 1600, some of Lilly's comedies were performed by these children. Many of the plays of Jonson were represented by them between 1600 and 1609.—From a passage in *Jack Drum's Entertainment, or the Comedy of Pasquil and Catharine*, which was printed in 1601, we learn that they were much followed at that time.

bably was an addition; for it is not found in the quarto of 1604, (which has not the appearance of a mutilated or imperfect copy,) nor did it appear in print till the publication of the folio in 1623.

The same observation may be made on the passage produced by Mr. Holt, to prove that this play was not written till after 1597. "*Their inhibition comes by means of the late innovation.*" This indeed does appear in the quarto of 1604, but, we may presume, was added in the interval between 1597, (when the statute alluded to, 39 Eliz. ch. 4, was enacted,) and that year.

Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, complains of the *scurrility* introduced *lately* by the younger brood of players, in their theatrical exhibitions. This may serve to ascertain the time when the passage which relates to them was inserted in *Hamlet*.

11. King John, 1596.

This historical play was founded on a former drama, entitled *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England, with the Discoverie of King Richard Cordelion's base Son, vulgarly named the Bastard Fawconbridge: also the Death of King John at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Majesties Players in the honourable Citie of London.* This piece, which is in two parts, and was printed at London for Sampson Clarke, 1591, has no author's name in the title-page. On its republication in 1611, the bookseller for whom it was printed, inserted the letters *W. Sh.* in the title-page; and in order to conceal his fraud, omitted the words—*publikely—in the honourable Citie of London*, which he was aware would proclaim this

play not to be Shakspeare's *King John;* the company to which he belonged, having no *publick* theatre in London: that in Blackfriars being a private play-house, and the Globe, which was a publick theatre, being situated in Southwark. He also, probably with the same view, omitted the following lines addressed *to the Gentlemen Readers*, which are prefixed to the first edition of the old play:

" You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
" Have entertain'd *the Scythian Tamburlaine*,
" And given applause unto an infidel;
" Vouchsafe to welcome, with like curtesie,
" A warlike Christian, and your countryman.
" For Christ's true faith indur'd he many a storme,
" And set himselfe against the man of *Rome*,
" Until base treason by a damned wight
" Did all his former triumphs put to flight.
" Accept of it, sweete gentles, in good sort,
" And thinke it was prepar'd for your disport."

Shakspeare's play being then probably often acted, and the other wholly laid aside, the word *lately* was substituted for the word *publickly:* " — as they were sundry times *lately* acted," &c.

Thomas Dewe, for whom a third edition of this old play was printed in 1622, was more daring. The two parts were then published, " *as they were sundry times lately acted;* and the name of *William Shakspeare* inserted at length. *By the Queen's Majesties players* was wisely omitted, as not being very consistent with the word *lately*, Elizabeth being then dead nineteen years.

King John is the only one of our poet's uncontested plays that is not entered in the books of the Stationers' Company. It was not printed till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, unless he mistook the old play in two parts, printed in 1591, for the composition of Shakspeare.

It is observable, that our author's son, Hamnet, died in August, 1596. That a man of such sensibility, and of so amiable a disposition, should have lost his only son, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not be easily credited. The pathetick lamentations which he has written for Lady Constance on the death of Arthur, may perhaps add some probability to the supposition that this tragedy was written at or soon after that period.

In the first scene of the second Act the following lines are spoken by Chatillon, the French ambassador, on his return from England to King Philip:

> "And all the unsettled humours of the land—
> "Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,
> "With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens,—
> "Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
> "Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs,
> "To make a hazard of new fortunes here.
> "In brief, a braver choice of dauntless spirits
> "Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er,
> "Did never float upon the swelling tide,
> "To do offence and scathe to Christendom."

Dr. Johnson has justly observed, in a note on this play, that many passages in our poet's works evidently show that "he often took advantage of the facts then recent, and the passions then in motion." Perhaps the description contained in the last six lines was immediately suggested to Shakspeare by the grand fleet which was sent against Spain in 1596. It consisted of eighteen of the largest of the Queen's ships, three of the Lord Admiral's, and above one hundred and twenty merchant-ships and victuallers, under the command of the earls of Nottingham and Essex. The regular land-forces on board amounted to ten thousand; and there was also a large body

of *voluntaries*, (as they were then called) under the command of Sir Edward Winkfield. Many of the nobility went on this expedition, which was destined against Cadiz. The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the third of June, 1596; before the end of that month the great Spanish armada was destroyed, and the town of Cadiz was sacked and burned. Here Lord Essex found 1200 pieces of ordnance, and an immense quantity of treasure, stores, ammunition, &c. valued at twenty million of ducats. The victorious commanders of this successful expedition returned to Plymouth, August 8, 1596, four days before the death of our poet's son. Many of our old historians speak of the splendour and magnificence displayed by the noble and gallant adventurers who served in this expedition; and Ben Jonson has particularly alluded to it in his *Silent Woman*, written a few years afterwards.[5] To this I suspect two lines already quoted particularly refer:

> "Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
> "*Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs.*"

Dr. Johnson conceived that the following lines in this play—

> "And meritorious shall that hand be call'd,
> "Canonized, and worshipp'd as a saint,
> "That takes away by any secret course
> "Thy hateful life."

might either refer to the bull published against Queen Elizabeth, or to the canonization of Garnet,

[5] "I had as fair a *gold jerkin* on that day as any was worn in the Island Voyage, or Cadiz, none dispraised."
Silent Woman, 1609.

Faux, and their accomplices, who in a Spanish book which he had seen, are registered as saints. If the latter allusion had been intended, then this play, or at least this part of it, must have been written after 1605. But the passage in question is founded on a similar one in the old play, printed in 1591, and therefore no allusion to the gun-powder-plot could have been intended.

A line of *The Spanish Tragedy* is quoted in *King John*. That tragedy, I believe, had appeared in or before 1590.

In the first Act of *King John*, an ancient tragedy, entitled *Solyman and Perseda*, is alluded to. The earliest edition of that play, now extant, is that of 1599, but it was written, and probably acted many years before; for it was entered on the Stationers' books, by Edward Whyte, Nov. 20, 1592.

Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, which, according to Langbaine, was printed in 1603, contains a passage, which, if it should be considered as an imitation of a similar one in *King John*, will ascertain this historical drama to have been written at least before that year:

> "Then how much more in me, whose youthful veins,
> "*Like a proud river, overflow their bounds.*"

So, in *King John*:

> "Why holds thine eye that lamentable rheum,
> "*Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds?*"

Marston has in many other places imitated Shakspeare.

A speech spoken by the Bastard in the second Act of this tragedy[6] seems to have been formed on one

[6] See Vol. X. p. 399.

in an old play entitled *The famous History of Captain Thomas Stukely*. Captain Stukely was killed in 1578. The drama of which he is the subject, was not printed till 1605, but it is in the black letter, and, I believe, had been exhibited at least fifteen years before.

Of the only other note of time which I have observed in this tragedy, beside those already mentioned, I am unable to make any use. "When I was in *France*," says young Arthur,

> "Young gentlemen would be as sad as night,
> "Only for wantonness."

I have not been able to ascertain when the fashion of being *sad and gentlemanlike* commenced among our gayer neighbours on the continent. A similar fashion prevailed in England, and is often alluded to by our poet, and his contemporaries. Perhaps he has in this instance attributed to the French a species of affectation then only found in England. It is noticed by Lyly in 1592, and Ben Jonson in 1598.

12. King Richard II. 1597.

King Richard II. was entered on the Stationers' books, August 29, 1597, and printed in that year.

There had been a former play on this subject, which appears to have been called *King Henry IV.* in which Richard was deposed, and killed on the stage. This piece, as Dr. Farmer and Mr. Tyrwhitt have observed, was performed on a publick theatre, at the request of Sir Gilly Merick, and some other followers of Lord Essex, the afternoon before his insurrection: "so earnest was he,"

(Merick) says the printed account of his arraignment, "to satisfy his eyes with a sight of that tragedy which he thought soone after his lord should bring from the stage to the state." "The players told him the play was *old*, and they should have loss by playing it, because few would come to it; but no play else would serve: and Sir Gilly Merick gave forty shillings to Philips the player to play this, besides whatsoever he could get."[7]

It may seem strange that this old play should have been represented four years after Shakspeare's drama on the same subject had been printed: the reason undoubtedly was, that in the old play the deposing King Richard II. made a part of the exhibition: but in the first edition of our author's play, one hundred and fifty-four lines, describing a kind of trial of the king, and his actual deposition in parliament, were omitted: nor was it probably represented on the stage. Merick, Cuffe, and the rest of Essex's train, naturally preferred the play in which his *deposition* was represented, their plot not aiming at the life of the queen. It is, I know, commonly thought, that the parliament-scene, (as it is called,) which was first printed in the quarto of 1608, was an addition made by Shakspeare to his play after its first representation: but it seems to me more probable that it was written with the rest, and suppressed in the printed copy of 1597, from the fear of offending Elizabeth; against whom the Pope had published a bull in the preceding year, exhorting her subjects to take up arms against her. In 1599 Hayward published his *History of the First Year of Henry IV.* which in fact is nothing

[7] Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. 412. *State Trials*, Vol. VIII. p. 60.

more than an history of the deposing Richard II. The displeasure which that book excited at court, sufficiently accounts for the omitted lines not being inserted in the copy of this play which was published in 1602. Hayward was heavily censured in the Star-chamber, and committed to prison. At a subsequent period, (1608,) when King James was quietly and firmly settled on the throne, and the fear of internal commotion, or foreign invasion, no longer subsisted, neither the author, the managers of the theatre, nor the bookseller, could entertain any apprehension of giving offence to the sovereign: the rejected scene was restored without scruple, and from some playhouse copy probably found its way to the press.

13. King Richard III. 1597.

Entered, at the Stationers' Hall, Oct. 20, 1597. Printed in that year.

14. First Part of King Henry IV. 1597.

Entered, Feb. 25, 1597. [1597-8.] Written therefore probably in 1597. Printed in 1598.

15. Second Part of King Henry IV. 1598.

The Second Part of King Henry IV. was entered in the Stationers' books, August 23, 1600, and was printed in that year. It was written, I believe, in 1598. From the epilogue it appears to have been composed before *King Henry V.* which itself must have been written in or before 1599.

Meres in his *Wit's Treasury*, which was published in September 1598, has given a list of our author's plays, and among them is *King Henry IV.*; but as he does not describe it as a play in two parts, I doubt whether this second part had been exhibited, though it might have been then written. If it was not in his contemplation, it may be presumed to have appeared in the latter part of the year 1598. His words are these: "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy, among the Latines, so Shakspeare, among the English, is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage: for comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love's Labour's Lost*, his *Love's Labour's Wonne*, his *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy, his *Richard II. Richard III.* HENRY IV.[8] *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*."[9]

The following allusion to one of the characters in this play, which is found in *Every Man out of his Humour*, Act V. sc. ii. first acted in 1599, is an additional authority for supposing *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* to have been written in 1598:

"*Savi.* What's he, gentle Mons. Brisk? Not that gentleman?

"*Fast.* No, lady; this is a kinsman to *Justice Shallow*."

That this play was not written before the year 1596, is ascertained by the following allusions. In the last Act, Clarence, speaking of his father, says,

[8] The circumstance of Hotspur's death in this play, and its being an historical drama, I suppose, induced *Meres* to denominate *The First Part of King Henry IV.* a tragedy.

[9] *Wit's Treasury*, p. 282.

"The incessant care and labour of his mind
"Hath wrought the mure that should confine it in,
"So thin, that life looks through, and will break out."

These lines appear to have been formed on the following in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, 1595, B. III. st. 116:

"Wearing the wall so thin, that now the mind
"Might well look thorough, and his frailty find."

Daniel's poem, though not published till 1595, was entered on the Stationers' books, in October, 1594.

The distich, with which Pistol consoles himself, *Si fortuna me tormenta*, &c. had, I believe, appeared in an old collection of tales, and apothegms, entitled *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1595, and probably printed in that year. Sir Richard Hawkins, as Dr. Farmer has observed, "in his voyage to the South Sea in 1593, throws out the same jingling distich on the loss of his pinnace." But no account of that voyage was published before 1598.

In the last Act of this play the young king thus addresses his brothers:

"Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
"This is the English, not the Turkish court;
"Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
"But Harry Harry."

It is highly probable, as is observed in a note on that passage, that Shakspeare had here in contemplation the cruelty practised by the Turkish emperor, Mahomet, who after the death of his father, Amurath the Third, in Feb. 1596,[1] invited his un-

[1] The affairs of this court had previously attracted the publick

suspecting brothers to a feast, and caused them all to be strangled.

16. The Merchant of Venice, 1598.

Entered at the Stationers' Hall, July 22, 1598; and mentioned by Meres in that year. Published in 1600.

17. All's Well that Ends Well, 1598.

All's well that ends well was not registered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed till 1623; but has been thought to be the play mentioned by Meres in 1598, under the title of *Love's Labour's Won.* No other of our author's plays could have borne that title with so much propriety as that before us; yet it must be acknowledged that the present title is inserted in the body of the play:

> "*All's well that end well;* still the fine's the crown," &c.

This line, however, might certainly have suggested the alteration of what has been thought the first title, and affords no decisive proof that this piece was originally called *All's well that ends well.* The words that compose the present title appear to have been proverbial.[2]

I formerly supposed that a comedy called *A bad*

attention; for in 1594 was published at London, *A Letter sent by Amurath the great Turke to Christendom.*

[2] See *The Remidie of Love*, translated from Ovid, 1600, sign. E. 3. b: "You take the old proverb with a right application for my just excuse: *All is well that ends well;* and so end I." See also Camden's Proverbial Sentences, *Remains*, 1614.

Beginning makes a good Ending, which was acted at court in 1613, by the Company of John Heminge, was the play now under consideration, with only a new title: but I was mistaken. The play then exhibited was written by John Ford.

In *All's well that ends well*, "The showing of a heavenly effect in an earthly actor," is mentioned. If this should prove to be the title of some tract, (which is not improbable,) and the piece should be hereafter discovered, it may serve in some measure to ascertain the date of the play.

This comedy also contains an allusion to the dispute between the Puritans and Protestants concerning the use of the surplice. That dispute began in 1589; and was much agitated during all the remainder of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

> "Plutus himself," (says one of the characters in this play,)
> "That knows the tinct and multiplying medicine," &c.

I know not whether the pursuit of the philosopher's stone particularly engaged the publick attention at the period to which this comedy has been ascribed; and quote the passage only for the consideration of those who are more conversant with that subject.

18. King Henry V. 1599.

Mr. Pope thought that this historical drama was one of our author's latest compositions; but he was evidently mistaken. *King Henry V.* was entered on the Stationers' books, Aug. 14, 1600, and printed in the same year. It was written *after* the Second Part of *King Henry IV.* being promised in the epilogue of that play; and while the Earl of Essex

was in Ireland.[3] Lord Essex went to Ireland April 15, 1599, and returned to London on the 28th of September in the same year. So that this play (unless the passage relative to him was inserted after the piece was finished) must have been composed between April and September, 1599. Supposing that passage a subsequent insertion, the play was probably not written *long* before; for it is not mentioned by Meres in 1598.

The prologue to Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*[4] seems clearly to allude to this play; and, if it had been written at the same time with the piece itself, might induce us, notwithstanding the silence of Meres, to place *King Henry V.* a year or two earlier; for *Every Man in his Humour* is said to have been acted in 1598. But the prologue which now appears before it, was not written till after 1601, when the play was printed without a prologue. It appears to have been Jonson's first performance;[5] and we may presume that it was the very play, which, we are told, was brought on the stage by the good offices of Shakspeare, who himself acted in it. Malignant and envious as Jonson appears to have been, he hardly would have ridiculed his benefactor at the very time he was so essentially obliged to him. Some years afterwards his jealousy broke out, and vented itself

[3] See the Chorus to the fifth Act of *King Henry V.*

[4] "He rather prays, you will be pleased to see
"One such, to day, as other plays should be;
"*Where neither Chorus wafts you o'er the seas*," &c.
Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, Fol. 1616.

[5] Jonson himself tells us in his Induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, that this was his first dramatick performance.—"The author beginning his studies of this kind with *Every Man in his Humour*."

in this prologue, which first appeared in the folio edition of Jonson's Works, published in 1616. It is certain that, not long after the year 1600, a coolness[6] arose between Shakspeare and him, which, however he may talk of his almost idolatrous affection, produced on his part, from that time to the death of our author, and for many years afterwards, much clumsy sarcasm, and many malevolent reflections.[7]

[6] See an old comedy called *The Return from Parnassus:* [This piece was not published till 1606; but appears to have been written in 1602,—certainly was produced before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3.] "Why here's our fellow Shakspeare puts them all down; ay and *Ben Jonson* too. O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakspeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit."

The play of Jonson's in which *he gave the poets a pill,* is the *Poetaster,* acted in 1601. In that piece some passages of *King Henry V.* are ridiculed. In what manner Shakspeare *put him down, or made him bewray his credit,* does not appear. His retaliation, we may be well assured, contained no gross or illiberal abuse; and, perhaps, did not go beyond a ballad or an epigram, which may have perished with things of greater consequence. He has, however, marked his disregard for the calumniator of his fame, by not leaving him any memorial by his Will. —In an apologetical dialogue which Jonson annexed to the *Poetaster,* he says, he had been provoked for three years (i. e. from 1598 to 1601) on every stage by slanderers; as for the players, he says,

"———— It is true, I tax'd them,
"And yet but some, and those so sparingly,
"As all the rest might have sat still unquestion'd:—
"———— What they have done against me
"I am not mov'd with. If it gave them meat,
"Or got them cloaths, 'tis well; that was their end.
"Only, amongst them, I am sorry for
"Some better natures, by the rest drawn in
"To run in that vile line."

By the words, "*Some better natures,*" there can, I think, be little doubt that Shakspeare was alluded to.

On this play, Mr. Pope has the following note, Act I. sc. i:

† In his *Silent Woman*, 1609, Act V. sc. ii. Jonson perhaps pointed at Shakspeare, as one whom he *viewed with scornful, yet with jealous, eyes:*

"So they may censure poets and authors, and compare them: Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with *t'other youth*, and so forth." Decker, however, might have been meant.

Again, in the same play:

"You two shall be the *chorus* behind the arras, and whip out between the acts, and speak."

In the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, which was acted in 1614, two years before the death of our author, three of his plays, and in the piece itself two others, are attempted to be ridiculed.

In *The Devil's an Ass*, acted in 1616, all his historical plays are obliquely censured.

"*Meer-er*. By my faith you are cunning in the chronicles.

"*Fitz-dot*. No, I confess, I ha't from the play-books, and think they are more authentick."

They are again attacked in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair:*

"An some writer that I know, had but the penning o'this matter, he would ha' made you such a *jig-a-jog i' the booths*, you should ha' thought an *earthquake* had been in the fair. But these *master-poets*, they will ha' their own absurd courses, they will be informed of nothing."

The following passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, was, I think, likewise pointed against Shakspeare:

"Besides, they would wish our poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jests, and to way-lay all the stale apothegms or *old books* they can hear of in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal:—Again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own, but what they have *twice* or *thrice cooked*, they should not wantonly give out how soon they had *dress'd it*, nor how many coaches came to carry away the broken meat, besides hobby-horses, and foot-cloth nags."

Jonson's plots were all his own invention; our author's chiefly taken from preceding plays or novels. The former employed a year or two in composing a play; the latter probably produced two every year, while he remained in the theatre.

The Induction to *The Staple of News*, which appeared in 1625, not very long after the publication of our author's plays in folio, contains a sneer at a passage in *Julius Cæsar:*

"This first scene was added since the edition of 1608, which is much short of the present editions,

"Know, Cæsar doth not wrong; nor without cause
"Will he be satisfied."

which for the purpose of ridicule is quoted unfaithfully; and in the same play may be found an effort, as impotent as that of Voltaire,* to raise a laugh at Hamlet's exclamation when he kills Polonius.

Some other passages which are found in Jonson's works, might be mentioned in support of this observation, but being quoted hereafter for other purposes, they are here omitted.

Notwithstanding these proofs, Jonson's malevolence to Shakspeare, and jealousy of his superior reputation, have been doubted by Mr. Pope and others: and much stress has been laid on a passage in his *Discoveries*, and on the commendatory verses prefixed to the first edition of our author's plays in folio.—The reader, after having perused the following character of Jonson, drawn by Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, a contemporary, and an intimate acquaintance of his, will not, perhaps, readily believe these *posthumous* encomiums to have been sincere. "Ben Jonson," says that writer, "was a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted; thinking nothing well done, but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done; he is passionately kind and angry; careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but, if he be well answered, [angry] at himself; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst.† He was for any religion, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which over-mastered his reason, a general disease in many poets. His inventions are smooth and easy, but above all, he excelleth in translation." *Drummond's Works*, fol. 1711; p. 226.

In the year 1619 Jonson went to Scotland, to visit Mr. Drum-

* "Ah! ma mere, s'écrie-t-il, il y a un gros rat derriére la tapissirie;—il tire son épée, court au rat, et tue le bon homme Polonius." Oeuvres de Voltaire, Tome XV. p. 473, 4to.

† His misquoting a line of *Julius Cæsar*, so as to render it nonsense, at a time when the play was in print, is a strong illustration of this part of his character. The plea of an unfaithful memory cannot be urged in his defence, for he tells us in his *Discoveries*, that till he was past forty, he could repeat every thing that he had written.

wherein the speeches are generally enlarged, and raised; several whole scenes besides, and the choruses also, were since *added by Shakspeare*."

Dr. Warburton also positively asserts, that this first scene was written after the accession of King James I.; and the subsequent editors agree, that several additions were made *by the author* to *King Henry V.* after it was originally composed. But there is, I believe no good ground for these assertions. It is true, that no perfect edition of this play was published before that in folio, in 1623; but it does not follow from thence, that the scenes which then first appeared in print, and all the choruses, were added *by Shakspeare*, as Mr. Pope supposes, after 1608. We know, indeed, the contrary to be true; for the Chorus to the fifth Act must have been written in 1599.

The fair inference to be drawn from the imperfect and mutilated copies of this play, published in 1600, 1602, and 1608, is, not that the whole play, as we now have it, did not then exist, but that those copies were surreptitious; and that the editor in 1600, not being able to publish the whole, published what he could.

I have not, indeed, met with any evidence (except in three plays) that the several scenes which are found in the folio of 1623, and are not in the preceding quartos, were added by the second labour of the author.—The last chorus of *King Henry V.* already mentioned, affords a striking proof that this was not always the case. The two copies of *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* printed in the same year, (1600,) furnish another. In one of

mond, who has left a curious account of a conversation that passed between them, relative to the principal poets of those times.

these, the whole first scene of Act III. is wanting; not because it was then unwritten, (for it is found in the other copy published in that year,) but because the editor was not possessed of it. That what have been called *additions by the author*, were not really such, may be also collected from another circumstance; that in some of the quartos where these supposed additions are wanting, references and replies are found to the passages omitted.[8]

I do not, however, mean to say, that Shakspeare never made any alterations in his plays. We have reason to believe that *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, were revised and augmented by the author; and a second revisal or temporary topicks might have suggested, in a course of years, some additions and alterations in some other of his pieces. But with respect to the entire scenes that are wanting in some of the early editions, (particularly those of *King Henry V.* *King Richard II.* and *The Second Part of King Henry IV.*) I suppose the omissions to have arisen from the imperfection of the copies; and instead of saying that "the first scene of *King Henry V.* was *added by the author* after the publication of the quarto in 1600," all that we can pronounce with certainty is, that this scene is not *found* in the quarto of 1600.

[8] Of this see a remarkable instance in *King Henry IV.* P. II. Act I. sc. i. where Morton in a long speech having informed Northumberland that the Archbishop of York had joined the rebel party, the Earl replies,—"*I knew of this before.*" The quarto contains the reply, but not a single line of the narrative to which it relates.

19. Much Ado about Nothing, 1600.

Much Ado about Nothing was written, we may presume, early in the year 1600; for it was entered at Stationers' Hall, August 23, 1600, and printed in that year.

It is not mentioned by Meres in his list of our author's plays, published in the latter end of the year 1598.

20. As You Like It, 1600.

This comedy was not printed till 1623, and the caveat or memorandum[9] in the second volume of the books of the Stationers' Company, relative to the three plays of *As you like it*, *Henry V.* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, has no date except *Aug.* 4. But immediately *above* that caveat there is an entry, dated May 27, 1600,—and the entry immediately *following* it, is dated Jan. 23, 1603. We may therefore presume that this caveat was entered *between* those two periods; more especially, as the dates scattered over the pages where this entry is found, are, except in one instance, in a regular series from 1596 to 1615. This will appear more clearly by exhibiting the entry exactly as it stands in the book:

27 May, 1600.

To Mr. Roberts.] Allarum to London.

[9] See Mr. Steevens's extracts from the books of the Stationers' Company, ante, p. 123.

4 Aug.

As you like it, a book.
Henry the Fift, a book.
Every Man in his Humour, a book.
Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing.
} to be staied.

23 Jan. 1603.

To Thomas Thorpe, and William Aspley. } This to be their copy, &c.

It is extremely probable that this 4th of August was of the year 1600; which standing a little higher on the paper, the clerk of the Stationers' Company might have thought unnecessary to be repeated. All the plays which were entered with *As you like it*, and are here said *to be staied*, were printed in the year 1600 or 1601. The stay or junction against the printing appears to have been very speedily taken off; for in ten days afterwards, on the 14th of August, 1600, *King Henry V.* was entered, and published in the same year. So, *Much Ado about Nothing* was entered August 23, 1600, and printed also in that year: and *Every Man in his Humour* was published in 1601.

Shakspeare, it is said, played the part of Adam in *As you like it*. As he was not eminent on the stage, it is probable that he ceased to act some years before he retired to the country. His appearance, however, in this comedy, is not inconsistent with the date here assigned; for we know that he performed a part in Jonson's *Sejanus* in 1603.

A passage in this comedy furnishes an additional proof of its not having been written before the year

1596, nor after the year 1603. "I will weep for nothing," says Rosalind, "like *Diana in the fountain.*" Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, 1598, informs us, that in the year 1598, at the east side of the Cross in Cheapside was set up "a curious wrought tabernacle of gray marble, and in the same an alabaster image of *Diana*, and water conveyed from the Thames, prilling from her naked breast." To this the passage above cited certainly alludes. In his second edition of the same work, printed in 1603, he informs the reader, that the water flowed in this manner *for a time*, but that the statue was then *decayed*. It was, we see, in order in 1598, and continued so without doubt for two years afterwards, that is, till 1600, when *As you like it* appears to have been written.

In this comedy a line of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* is quoted. That poem was published in 1598, and probably before.

21. Merry Wives of Windsor, 1601.

The following line in the earliest edition of this comedy,

"Sail like my pinnace to those *golden shores*,"

shows that it was written after Sir Walter Raleigh's return from Guiana in 1596.

The first sketch of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was printed in 1602. It was entered in the books of the Stationers' Company, on the 18th of January, 1601-2, and was therefore probably written in 1601, after the *two parts of King Henry IV.* being, it is said, composed at the desire of Queen Elizabeth, in order to exhibit Falstaff in love, when all the

pleasantry which he could afford in any other situation was exhausted. But it may not be thought so clear, that it was written after *King Henry V.* Nym and Bardolph are both hanged in *K. Henry V.* yet appear in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Falstaff is disgraced in *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* and dies in *King Henry V.*; but in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* he talks as if he were yet in favour at court;[1] "*If it should come to the ear of the court how I have been transformed*," &c.: and Mr. Page discountenances Fenton's addresses to his daughter, *because he kept company with the wild Prince and with Pointz*. These circumstances seem to favour the supposition that this play was written between the *First and Second Parts of K. Henry IV.* But that it was not written then, may be collected from the tradition above mentioned. The truth, I believe, is, that though it ought to be read (as Dr. Johnson has observed) between *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* and *King Henry V.* it was written *after King Henry V.* and after Shakspeare had killed Falstaff. In obedience to the royal commands, having revived him, he found it necessary at the same time to revive all those persons with whom he was wont to be exhibited; Nym, Pistol, Bardolph, and the Page: and disposed of them as he found it convenient, without a strict regard to their situations, or catastrophes in former plays.

There is reason to believe that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was revised and enlarged by the author, after its first production. The old edition in 1602, like that of *Romeo and Juliet*, is apparently a rough draught, and not a mutilated or imperfect copy.

[1] "Well, *an* the fine wits of the Court heare this theyle so whip me" &c. 4°. 1602.

The precise time when the alterations and additions were made, has not been ascertained: however, some passages in the enlarged copy may assist us in our conjectures on the subject.

Falstaff's address to Justice Shallow in the first scene shows that the alterations were made after King James came to the throne: "Now, Master Shallow, you'll complain of me to the *king*." In the first copy the words are, "*to the council*."

When Mrs. Page observes to Mrs. Ford, that "these knights will hack," which words are not in the original copy, Shakspeare, it has been thought, meant to convey a covert sneer at King James's prodigality in bestowing knighthood in the beginning of his reign. Between the king's arrival at Berwick and the 2d of May, 1603, he made 237 knights; and in the following July near four hundred.

"The best courtier of them all," says Mrs. Quickly, "when *the court lay at Windsor*, could never have brought her to such a canary. Yet there have been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, I warrant you, coach after coach," &c.

The court went to Windsor in the beginning of July, 1603, and soon afterwards the feast of Saint George was celebrated there with great solemnity. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, our poet's great patron the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Marre, were installed knights of the garter; and the chief ladies of England did homage to the queen. The king and queen afterwards usually resided in the summer at Greenwich. The allusion to the insignia of the order of the garter in the fifth Act of this comedy, if written recently after so splendid a solemnity,

would have a peculiar grace; yet the order having been originally instituted at Windsor by King Edward III. the place in which the scene lay, might, it must be owned, have suggested an allusion to it, without any particular or temporary object.—It is observable that Mrs. Quickly says, there had been knights, lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, *coach after coach*, &c. Coaches, as appears from Howes's Continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, did not come into general use, till the year 1605. It may therefore be presumed, that this play was not enlarged very long before that year.

There is yet another note of time to be considered. In the first scene of the enlarged copy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Slender asks Mr. Page, "How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I hear he was outrun on Cotsale." He means the Cotswold hills in Glocestershire. In the beginning of the reign of James the First, the Cotswold games were instituted by one Dover. They consisted, as Mr. Warton has observed, of "wrestling, leaping, pitching the bar, handling the pike, dancing of women, various kinds of hunting, and particularly coursing the hare with greyhounds." Mr. Warton is of opinion, that two or three years must have elapsed before these games could have been effectually established, and therefore supposes that our author's additions to this comedy were made about the year 1607. Dr. Farmer doubts whether Capt. Dover was the founder of these games. "Though the Captain," he observes, "be celebrated in the *Annalia Dubrensia* as the *founder* of them, he might be the *reviver* only, or some way contribute to make them more famous; for in the second part of *King Henry IV.* Justice

Shallow reckons among the *swinge-bucklers*, "Will Squeele, a *Cotsole* man." In confirmation of Dr. Farmer's opinion Mr. Steevens remarks, that in Randolph's poems, 1638, is found "An eclogue on the noble assemblies *revived* on Cotswold hills by Mr. Robert Dover."

If the Cotswold games were celebrated before the death of Queen Elizabeth, the passage above cited certainly proves nothing. Let us then endeavour to ascertain that fact. Dover himself tells us in the *Annalia Dubrensia* that he was the *founder* of these games:

> "Yet I was bold for better recreation
> "To *invent* these sports, to counter-check that fashion."

and from Ben Jonson's verses in the same collection we learn that they were exhibited in the time of James I. and revived in 1636. Nothing more then follows from Randolph's verses, compared with Jonson's, than that the games had been discontinued after their first institution by Dover, (probably soon after the death of King James,) and were *revived* by their *founder* at a subsequent period. Cotswold, long before the death of Elizabeth, might have been famous for swinge bucklers, or in other words for strong men, skilled in fighting with sword and buckler, wrestling, and other athletick exercises: but there is no ground for supposing that coursing with greyhounds, in order to obtain the prize of a silver collar, was customary there, till Dover instituted those prizes after the accession of James to the throne.

That they were instituted about the year 1603, when King James acceded to the English throne, may be collected from the account given of them by Wood, in his *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812:

"The said games were *begun*, and continued at a certain time of the year, for 40 years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Burton on the heath in Warwickshire; who did, *with leave from King James I.* select a place on Cotswold-hills in Glocestershire, whereon those games should be acted. Dover was constantly there in person, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of those games, even till the rascally rebellion was begun by the Presbyterians, which gave a stop to their proceedings, and spoiled all that was generous and ingenious elsewhere."

This comedy was not printed in its present state till 1623, when it was published with the rest of our author's plays in folio. The republication of the imperfect copy in 1619 has been mentioned as a circumstance from which we may infer that Shakspeare's improved play was not written, or at least not acted, till some years after 1607. I confess, I do not perceive, on what ground this inference is made. Arthur Johnson, the bookseller for whom the imperfect copy of this play was published in 1602, when the whole edition was sold off, reprinted it in 1619, knowing that the enlarged copy remained in MS. in the hands of the proprietors of the Globe theatre, and that such of the publick as wished to read the play in any form, must read the imperfect play, of which he had secured the property by entering it at Stationers' Hall. In the same manner Thomas Pavier in 1619 reprinted the first and second parts of *The whole Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, though he could not but know that the *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* which were formed on those pieces, and were much more valuable than them, had been frequently acted, an-

tecedent to his republication, and that the original plays had long been withdrawn from the scene. Not being able to procure the improved and perfect copies, a needy bookseller would publish what he could.

22. King Henry VIII. 1601.

This play was probably written, as Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens observe, before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3. The elogium on King James, which is blended with the panegyrick on Elizabeth, in the last scene, was evidently a subsequent insertion, after the accession of the Scottish monarch to the throne: for Shakspeare was too well acquainted with courts, to compliment in the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth, her presumptive successor, of whom history informs us she was not a little jealous. That the prediction concerning King James was added after the death of the Queen, is still more clearly evinced, as Dr. Johnson has remarked, by the aukward manner in which it is connected with the foregoing and subsequent lines.

The following lines in that prediction may serve to ascertain the time when the compliment was introduced:

> "Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> "His honour and the greatness of his name
> "Shall be, and make new nations."

Though Virginia was discovered in 1584, the first colony sent out went there in 1606. In that year the king granted two letters patent for planting that country, one to the city of London, the

other to the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. The colony sent from London settled in Virginia; that from the other cities in New England; the capital of which was built in the following year, and called *James-town*. In 1606 also a scheme was adopted for the plantation of Ulster in Ireland.[2] I suspect, therefore, that the panegyrick on the king was introduced either in that year, or in 1612, when a lottery was granted expressly for the establishment of English Colonies in Virginia.

It may be objected, that if this play was written after the accession of King James, the author could not introduce a panegyrick on him, without making Queen Elizabeth the vehicle of it, she being the object immediately presented to the audience in the last Act of *King Henry VIII.*; and that, therefore, the praises so profusely lavished on her, do *not* prove this play to have been written in her life-time; on the contrary, that the concluding lines of her character seem to imply that she was dead, when it was composed. The objection certainly has weight; but, I apprehend, the following observations afford a sufficient answer to it.

1. It is more likely that Shakspeare should have written a play, the chief subject of which is, the disgrace of Queen Catharine, the aggrandizement of Anne Boleyn, and the birth of her daughter, in the life-time of that daughter, than after her death: at a time when the subject must have been highly pleasing at court, rather than at a period when it must have been less interesting.

Queen Catharine, it is true, is represented as an amiable character, but still she is *eclipsed*; and the greater her merit, the higher was the compliment

[2] Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 440.

to the mother of Elizabeth, to whose superior beauty she was obliged to give way.

2. If *King Henry VIII.* had been written in the time of King James I. the author, instead of expatiating so largely in the last scene, in praise of the Queen, which he could not think would be acceptable to her successor, who hated her memory,[3] would probably have made him the principal figure in the prophecy, and thrown her into the background as much as possible.

3. Were James I. Shakspeare's chief object in the original construction of the last Act of this play, he would probably have given a very short character of Elizabeth, and have *dwelt* on that of James, with whose praise he would have *concluded*, in order to make the stronger impression on the audience, instead of returning again to Queen Elizabeth, in a very aukward and abrupt manner, after her character seemed to be quite finished: an aukwardness that can only be accounted for, by supposing the panegyrick on King James an after-production.[4]

[3] King James on his accession to the throne studiously marked his disregard for Elizabeth by the favour which he showed to Lord Southampton, and to every other person who had been disgraced by her. Of this Shakspeare could not be ignorant.

[4] After having enumerated some of the blessings which were to ensue from the birth of Elizabeth, and celebrated her majesty's various virtues, the poet thus proceeds:

" *Cran.* In *her* days every man shall eat in safety
" Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing
" The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.
" God shall be truly known; and those about her
" From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
" And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
" Nor shall this peace *sleep* with her; but as when
" The bird of wonder *dies*, the maiden phœnix,
" Her ashes new-create another heir,

4. If the Queen had been dead when our author wrote this play, he would have been acquainted with the particular circumstances attending her death, the situation of the kingdom at that time, and of foreign states, &c. and as Archbishop Cranmer is supposed to have had the gift of prophecy, Shakspeare, probably, would have made him mention some of those circumstances. Whereas the prediction, as it stands at present, is quite general, and such as might, without any hazard of error, have been pronounced in the life-time of her majesty; for the principal facts that it foretells, are, that she should die aged, and a virgin. Of the former, supposing this piece to have been written in 1601, the author was sufficiently secure; for she was then near seventy years old. The latter may perhaps be thought too delicate a subject, to have been mentioned while she was yet living. But we may presume, it was far from being an ungrateful topick; for very early after her accession to the throne, she appears to have been proud of her maiden character; declaring that she was *wedded* to her people, and that she desired no other inscrip-

" As great in admiration as herself;
" So shall she leave her blessedness to one, &c.
" ———————— *He* shall flourish,
" And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
" To all the plains about him:—our children's children
" Shall see this, and bless heaven.
" *King.* Thou speakest wonders.]
" *Cran.* *She* shall be, to the happiness of England,
" An aged princess; many days shall see her,
" And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
" Would I had known no more! but she must *die*,
" She must, the saints must have her; yet a virgin," &c.

The lines between crotchets are those supposed to have been inserted by the author after the accession of King James.

tion on her tomb, than—*Here lyeth Elizabeth, who reigned and died a* virgin.[5] Besides, if Shakspeare knew, as probably most people at that time did, that she became very solicitous about the reputation of virginity, when her title to it was at least equivocal, this would be an additional inducement to him to compliment her on that head.

5. Granting that the *latter part* of the panegyrick on Elizabeth implies that she was dead when it was composed, it would not prove that this play was written in the time of King James; for *these latter lines* in praise of the Queen, as well as the whole of the compliment to the King, might have been added after his accession to the throne, in order to bring the speaker back to the object immediately before him, the infant Elizabeth. And this Mr. Theobald conjectured to have been the case. I do not, however, see any *necessity* for this supposition; as there is nothing, in my apprehension, contained in *any* of the lines in praise of the Queen, inconsistent with the notion of the *whole* of the panegyrick on her having been composed in her life-time.

In further confirmation of what has been here advanced to show that this play was probably written while Queen Elizabeth was yet alive, it may be observed, (to use the words of an anonymous writer,[6]) that "Shakspeare has cast the disagreeable parts of her *father's* character as much into shade as possible; that he has represented him as greatly displeased with the grievances of his subjects, and ordering them to be relieved; tender

[5] Camden, 27. Melvil, 49.

[6] The author of *Shakspeare Illustrated*. [Mrs. Lennox.]

and obliging [in the early part of the play] to his queen, grateful to the cardinal, and in the case of Cranmer, capable of distinguishing and rewarding true merit."—" He has exerted (adds the same author) an equal degree of complaisance, by the amiable lights in which he has shown the *mother* of Elizabeth. Anne Bullen is represented as affected with the most tender concern for the sufferings of her mistress, queen Catharine; receiving the honour the king confers on her, by making her marchioness of Pembroke, with a graceful humility; and more anxious to conceal her advancement from the queen, lest it should aggravate her sorrows, than solicitous to penetrate into the meaning of so extraordinary a favour, or of indulging herself in the flattering prospect of future royalty."

It is unnecessary to quote particular passages in support of these assertions; but the following lines, which are spoken of Anne Boleyn by the Lord Chamberlain, appear to me so evidently calculated for the ear of Elizabeth, (to whom such incense was by no means displeasing,) that I cannot forbear to transcribe them:

" She is a gallant creature, and complete
" In mind and feature. I persuade me, *from her*
" *Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall*
" *In it be memoriz'd.*"

Again:

" ——— I have perus'd her well;
" Beauty and honour are in her so mingled,
" That they have caught the king: *and who knows yet,*
" *But from this lady may proceed a gem,*
" *To lighten all this isle.*"

Our author had produced so many plays in the preceding years, that it is not likely that *King*

Henry VIII. was written *before* 1601. It might perhaps with equal propriety be ascribed to 1602, and it is not easy to determine in which of those years it was composed; but it is extremely probable that it was written in one of them. It was not printed till 1623.

A poem, called *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, and published, in the year 1599, perhaps suggested this subject to Shakspeare.

He had also certainly read Churchyard's *Legend of Cardinal Wolsey*, printed in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1587.

"Have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us," says the Porter in the last Act of this play. This note of time may perhaps hereafter serve to ascertain the date of this piece, though I cannot avail myself of it, not having been able to discover to what circumstance Shakspeare here alludes.

A play, entitled *The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, was published at London in 1602. In the title-page it is said to be written by W. S.; letters which undoubtedly were inserted to deceive the reader, and to induce him to suppose that the piece was written by Shakspeare, as a kind of sequel to his *Henry VIII.* This circumstance may serve in some measure to confirm my conjecture that *King Henry VIII.* had been exhibited in the preceding year. Rowley's *King Henry VIII.* was published in 1605, probably with a view that it also might be confounded with Shakspeare's drama; and both it and *Lord Cromwell* were re-printed with the same fraudulent intention in 1613, in which year our author's play was revived with great splendour.

The Globe play-house, we are told by the continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, was burnt down, on St. Peter's day, in the year 1613, while the play of *K. Henry VIII.* was exhibiting. Sir Henry Wotton, (as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed,) says in one of his letters, that this accident happened during the exhibition of a *new* play, called *All is True;* which, however, appears both from Sir Henry's minute description of the piece, and from the account given by Stowe's continuator, to have been our author's play of *King Henry VIII.* If indeed Sir H. Wotton was accurate in calling it a *new* play, all the foregoing reasoning on this subject would be at once overthrown; and this piece instead of being ascribed to 1601, should have been placed twelve years later. But I strongly suspect that the only novelty attending this play, in the year 1613, was its title, decorations, and perhaps the prologue and epilogue. The Elector Palatine was in London in that year; and it appears from the MS. register of Lord Harrington, treasurer of the chambers to King James I. that many of our author's plays were then exhibited for the entertainment of him and the princess Elizabeth. By the same register we learn, that the titles of many of them were changed[7] in that year. Princes are fond of opportunities to display their magnificence before strangers of distinction; and James, who on his arrival here must have been dazzled by a splendour foreign to the poverty of his native kingdom, might have been peculiarly ambitious

[7] Thus, *Henry IV.* P. I. was called *Hotspur; Henry IV.* P. II. or *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* was exhibited under the name of *Sir John Falstaff; Much Ado about Nothing* was new-named *Benedick and Beatrix;* and *Julius Cæsar* seems to have been represented under the title of *Cæsar's Tragedy.*

to exhibit before his son-in-law the mimick pomp of an English coronation.[8] *King Henry VIII.* therefore, after having lain by for some years unacted, on account of the costliness of the exhibition, might have been revived in 1613, under the title of *All is True*, with new decorations, and a new prologue and epilogue. Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, that the prologue has two or three direct references to this title; a circumstance which authorizes us to conclude, almost with certainty, that it was an occasional production, written some years after the composition of the play. *King Henry VIII.* not being then printed, the fallacy of calling it a new play on its revival was not easily detected.

Dr. Johnson long since suspected, from the contemptuous manner in which "*the noise of targets*, and *the fellow in a long motley coat*," or in other words, most of our author's plays, are spoken of, in this prologue, that it was not the composition of Shakspeare, but written after his departure from the stage, on some accidental revival of *King Henry VIII.* by Ben Jonson, whose style it seemed to him to resemble.[9] Dr. Farmer is of

[8] The Prince Palatine was not present at the representation of *King Henry VIII.* on the 30th of June, O. S. when the Globe playhouse was burnt down, having left England some time before. But the play might have been revived for his entertainment in the beginning of the year 1613; and might have been occasionally represented afterwards.

[9] In support of this conjecture it may be observed, that Ben Jonson has in many places endeavoured to ridicule our author for representing battles on the stage. So, in his prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*:

"—— Yet ours, for want, hath not so lov'd the stage,
"As he dare serve the *ill customs* of the age;
"Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
"As, for it, he himself must justly hate;
"To make, &c.

the same opinion, and thinks he sees something of Jonson's hand here and there in the dialogue also.

" ——— or *with three rusty swords*,
" *And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words*,
" *Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars*,
" *And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scars.*"

Again, in his *Silent Woman*, Act IV. sc. iv:

" Nay, I would sit out a play, that were nothing but fights at sea, *drum*, *trumpet*, and *target*."

We are told in the memoirs of Ben Jonson's life, that he went to France in the year 1613. But at the time of the revival of *King Henry VIII.* he either had not left England, or was then returned; for he was a spectator of the fire which happened at the Globe theatre during the representation of that piece. [See the next note.]

It may, perhaps, seem extraordinary, that he should have presumed to prefix this covert censure of Shakspeare to one of his own plays. But he appears to have eagerly embraced every opportunity of depreciating him. This occasional prologue (whoever was the writer of it) confirms the tradition handed down by Rowe, that our author retired from the stage some years before his death. Had he been at that time joined with Heminge and Burbage in the management of the Globe theatre, he scarcely would have suffered the lines above alluded to, to have been spoken. In Lord Harrington's account of the money disbursed for the plays that were exhibited by his majesty's servants in the year 1613, before the Elector Palatine, all the payments are said to have been made to " *John Heminge*, for himself and the rest of his fellows;" from which we may conclude that he was principal manager. A correspondent, however, of Sir Thomas Puckering's (as I learn from Mr. Tyrwhitt) in a MS. letter, preserved in the Museum, and dated in the year 1613, calls the company at the Globe, " *Bourbage's* company."—Shakspeare's name stands before either of these in the licence granted by King James: and had he not left London before that time, the players at the Globe theatre, I imagine, would rather have been entitled, *his* company.—The burlesque parody on the account of Falstaff's death, which is contained in Fletcher's comedy of *The Captain*, acted in 1613, and the ridicule of Hamlet's celebrated soliloquy, and of Ophelia's death, in his *Scornful Lady*, which was represented about the same time, confirm the tradition that our author had then retired from the stage, careless of the fate of his writings, inattentive to the illiberal attacks of his contemporaries, and negligent alike of present and posthumous fame.

After our author's retirement to the country, Jonson was perhaps employed to give a novelty to the piece by a new title and prologue, and to furnish the managers of the Globe with a description of the coronation ceremony, and of those other decorations, with which, from his connection with Inigo Jones, and his attendance at court, he was peculiarly conversant.

The piece appears to have been revived with some degree of splendour; for Sir Henry Wotton gives a very pompous account of the representation. The unlucky accident that happened to the house during the exhibition, was occasioned by discharging some small pieces, called chambers, on King Henry's arrival at Cardinal Wolsey's gate at Whitehall, one of which, being injudiciously managed, set fire to the thatched roof of the theatre.[1]

Since the above note was written, I have seen the mortgage which is printed in a preceding page, and was executed by Shakspeare in March, 1612-13. From this deed we find that he was in London in that year; he might, however, have parted with his property in the theatre before.

[1] The Globe theatre (as I learn from the MSS. of Mr. Oldys) was thatched with reeds, and had an open area in its center. This area we may suppose to have been filled by the lowest part of the audience, whom Shakspeare calls the *groundlings*.—*Chambers* are not, like other guns, pointed horizontally, but are discharged as they stand erect on their breeches. The accident may, therefore, be easily accounted for. If these pieces were let off behind the scenes, the paper or wadding with which their charges were confined, would reach the thatch on the inside; or if fixed without the walls, it might have been carried by the wind to the top of the roof.

This accident is alluded to, in the following lines of Ben Jonson's *Execration upon Vulcan*, from which it appears, that he was at the Globe playhouse when it was burnt; a circumstance which in some measure strengthens the conjecture that he was

The play, thus revived and new-named, was probably called in the bills of that time, a *new* play; which might have led Sir Henry Wotton to describe it as such. And thus his account may be reconciled with that of the other contemporary writers, as well as with those arguments which have been here urged in support of the early date of *King Henry VIII.* Every thing has been fully stated on each side of the question. The reader must judge.

Mr. Roderick in his notes on our author, (appended to Mr. Edwards's *Canons of Criticism*,)

employed on the revival of *King Henry VIII.* for this was not the theatre at which his pieces were usually represented:

"Well fare the wise men yet on the Bank-side,
"My friends, the watermen! they could provide
"Against thy fury, when, to serve their needs,
"They made a Vulcan of a sheaf of reeds;
"Whom they durst handle in their holy-day coats,
"And safely trust to dress, not burn, their boats.
"But O those reeds! thy mere disdain of them
"Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
"(Which some are pleas'd to style but thy mad prank,)
"Against *the Globe*, the glory of *the Bank*:
"Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
"Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a marish,
"*I saw*, with two poor *chambers* taken in,
"And raz'd; ere thought could urge this might have been.
"See the world's ruins! nothing but the piles
"Left, and wit since to cover it with tiles.
"The breth'ren, they straight nois'd it out for news,
"'Twas verily some relick of the stews,
"And this a sparkle of that fire let loose,
"That was lock'd up in the Winchestrian goose,
"Bred on *the Bank* in time of popery,
"When Venus there maintain'd her mystery.
"But others fell, with that conceit, by the ears,
"And cried it was a threat'ning to the bears,
"And that accursed ground, *the Paris-garden*," &c.

takes notice of some peculiarities in the metre of the play before us; viz. "*that there are many more verses in it than in any other, which end with a redundant syllable*,"—"*very near two to one*,"—and that the "*cæsuræ or pauses of the verse are full as remarkable.*" The *redundancy*, &c. observed by this critick, Mr. Steevens thinks (a remark, which, having omitted to introduce in its proper place, he desires me to insert here,) "was rather the effect of chance, than of design in the author; and might have arisen either from the negligence of Shakspeare, who in this play has borrowed whole scenes and speeches from Holinshed, whose words he was probably in too much haste to compress into versification strictly regular and harmonious; or from the interpolations of Ben Jonson, whose hand Dr. Farmer thinks he occasionally perceives in the dialogue."

Whether Mr. Roderick's position be well founded, is hardly worth a contest; but the peculiarities which he has animadverted on, (if such there be) add probability to the conjecture that this piece underwent some alterations after it had passed out of the hands of Shakspeare.

23. Troilus and Cressida, 1602.

Troilus and Cressida was entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 7, 1602-3, under the title of *The booke of Troilus and Cressida*, by J. Roberts, the printer of *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. It was therefore, probably, written in 1602. It was printed in 1609, with the title of *The History of Troylus and Cressida*, with a preface by the editor, who speaks of it as if it

had not been then acted. But it is entered in 1602-3, "*as acted by my Lord Chamberlen's men.*" The players at the Globe theatre, to which Shakspeare belonged, were called *the Lord Chamberlen's servants*, till the year 1603. In that year they obtained a licence for their exhibitions from King James; and from that time they bore the more honourable appellation of *his majesty's servants*. There can, therefore, be little doubt, that the *Troilus and Cressida* which is here entered, as acted at Shakspeare's theatre, was his play, and was, if not represented, intended to have been represented there.[2]

Perhaps the two discordant accounts, relative to this piece, may be thus reconciled. It might have been performed in 1602 at *court*, by the lord chamberlain's servants, (as many plays at that time were,) and yet not have been exhibited on the publick stage till some years afterwards. The editor in 1609 only says, "it had never been staled with the *stage*, never clapper-claw'd with the palms of *the vulgar*."

As a further proof of the early appearance of *Troilus and Cressida*, it may be observed, that an incident in it seems to be burlesqued in a comedy entitled *Histriomastix*, which, though not printed till 1610, must have been written before the death of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the last Act of the piece, is shadowed under the character of Astræa, and is spoken of as then living.

[2] No other play with this title has come down to us. We have therefore a right to conclude, that the play entered in the books of the Stationers' Company was Shakspeare's.

[See *Additions to the Historical Account of the English Stage*, Vol. III. from whence it is proved, that there was an earlier play on this subject. STEEVENS.]

In our author's play, when Troilus and Cressida part, he gives her his sleeve, and she, in return, presents him with her glove.

To this circumstance these lines in *Histriomastix* seem to refer. They are spoken by Troilus and Cressida, who are introduced in an interlude:

" *Troi.* Come, Cressida, my cresset light,
" Thy face doth shine both day and night.
" Behold, behold, *thy garter blue*
" *Thy knight his valiant elbow weares*,
" That, when he shakes his furious speare,
" The foe in shivering fearful sort
" May lay him down in death to snort.

" *Cress.* O knight, with valour in thy face,
" *Here take my skreene*, weare it for grace;
" Within thy helmet put the same,
" Therewith to make thy enemies lame."

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Troilus is mentioned as " the first employer of pandars." Shakspeare, therefore, probably had read Chaucer's poem before the year 1600, when that play was printed.

In *Cymbeline* it is said, that

" Thersites' body is as good as Ajax',
" When neither are alive."

This seems to import a precedent knowledge of Ajax and Thersites, and in this light may be regarded as a presumptive proof that *Troilus and Cressida* was written before *Cymbeline*.

Dryden supposed *Troilus and Cressida* to have been one of Shakspeare's earliest performances;[1] but

[1] " The tragedy which I have undertaken to correct, was in all probability, one of his *first endeavours* on the stage.—Shakspeare (as I hinted) *in the apprenticeship of his writing* modelled it [the story of Lollius] into that play which is now called by the name of *Troilus and Cressida*."—Dryden's pref. to *Troilus and Cressida*.

has not mentioned on what principles he founded his judgment. Pope, on the other hand, thought it one of his last; grounding his opinion not only on the preface by the editor in 1609, but on "the great number of observations both moral and political with which this piece is crouded, more than any other of our author's." For my own part, were it not for the entry in the Stationers' books, I should have been led, both by the colour of the writing and by the above-mentioned preface, to class it (though not one of our author's happiest effusions) in 1608, rather than in that year in which it is here placed.

24. Measure for Measure, 1603.

This play was not registered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. But from two passages in it, which seem intended as a courtly apology for the stately and ungracious demeanour of King James I. on his entry into England, it appears probable that it was written not long after his accession to the throne:

> "I'll privily away. I love the people,
> "But do not like to stage me to their eyes.
> "Though it do well, I do not relish well
> "Their loud applause, and aves vehement;
> "Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
> "That does affect it." *Measure for Measure*, Act I. sc. i.

Again, Act II. sc. iv:

> "———————— So
> "The general, subject to a well-wish'd king,
> "Quit their own part, and in obsequious fondness
> "Croud to his presence, where their untaught love
> "Must needs appear offence."[4]

[4] See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note.

King James was *so much offended* by the *untaught*, and, we may add, undeserved, gratulations of his subjects, on his entry into England, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to resort to him.—"Afterwards," says the historian of his reign, "in his publick appearances, especially in his sports, the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with *curses*."[5]

It is observable throughout our author's plays that he does not scruple to introduce English signs, habits, customs, names, &c. though the scene of his drama lies in a foreign country; and that he has frequent allusions to the circumstances of the day, though the events which form the subject of his piece are supposed to have happened a thousand years before. Thus, in *Coriolanus*, *Hob* and *Dick* are plebeians; and the Romans toss their caps in the air, with the same expressions of festivity which our poet's contemporaries displayed in Stratford or London. In *Twelfth-Night* we hear of the bed of Ware, and the bells of Saint Bennet; and in *The Taming of the Shrew* the *Pegasus*, a sign of a publick house in Cheapside in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is hung up in a town in Italy. In *Hamlet* the Prince of Denmark and Guildenstern hold a long conversation concerning the children of the Chapel and St. Pauls'. The opening of the present play, viewed in this light, furnishes an additional argument in support of the date which I have assigned to it. When King James came to the throne of England, March 24, 1602-3, he found the kingdom engaged in a war with Spain, which had lasted near twenty years. "*Heaven*

[5] Wilson's *History of King James*, ad ann. 1603.

grant us his peace!" says a gentleman to Lucio, Act I. sc. ii.; and afterwards the bawd laments, that "what with *the war*, what with the sweat, she was custom-shrunk." Supposing these two passages to relate to our author's own time, they almost decisively prove *Measure for Measure* to have been written in 1603; when the war was not yet ended, as the latter words seem to imply, and when there was some *prospect* of peace, as the former seem to intimate. Our British Solomon very soon after his accession to the throne manifested his pacifick disposition, though the peace with Spain was not proclaimed till the 19th of August, 1604.

By *the sweat*, considering who the speaker is, it is probable that the disorder most fatal to those of her profession was intended. However, the plague was sometimes so called; and perhaps the dreadful pestilence of 1603 was meant; which carried off in the month of July in that year 857 persons, and in the whole year 30,578 persons: that is, one fifth part of the people in the metropolis; the total number of the inhabitants of London being at that time about one hundred and fifty thousand. If such was the allusion, it likewise confirms the date attributed to this play.

Some part of this last argument in confirmation of the date which I had assigned some years ago to the comedy before us, I owe to Mr. Capell; and while I acknowledge the obligation, it is but just to add, that it is the only one that I met with, which in the smallest degree could throw any light on the present inquiry into the dates of our author's plays,

"In the dry desert of *ten* thousand lines;"

after wading through two ponderous volumes in quarto, written in a style manifestly formed on that of the Clown in the comedy under our consideration, whose narratives, we are told, were calculated to last out *a night in Russia, when nights are at the longest.*

In the year 1604, says Wilson the historian, "the sword and buckler trade being out of date, diverse sects of vitious persons, under the title of *roaring boys*, *bravadoes*, *roysters*, &c. commit many insolencies; the streets swarm night and day with quarrels: private duels are fomented, especially between the English and Scotch: and great feuds between protestants and papists." A proclamation was published to restrain these enormities; which proving ineffectual, the legislature interposed, and the act commonly called the statute of stabbing, 1 Jac. I. c. 8. was made. This statute, as Sir Michael Foster observes, was principally intended to put a stop to the outrages above enumerated, "committed by persons of inflammable spirits and deep resentment, who, wearing short daggers under their cloaths, were too well prepared to do quick and effectual execution upon provocations extremely slight." King James's first parliament met on the 19th of March, 1603-4, and sat till the 7th of July following. From the time of James's accession to the throne great animosity subsisted between the English and Scotch; and many of the outrageous acts which gave rise to the statute of stabbing, had been committed in the preceding year, about the end of which year I suppose *Measure for Measure* to have been written. The enumeration made by the Clown, in the fourth Act, of the persons who were confined with him in the prison, is an additional confirmation of the date

assigned to it. Of ten prisoners whom he names, four are stabbers, or duellists: "Master Starvelacky, the rapier and dagger man, young Drop-heir that killed lusty Pudding, Master Forth-right, the tilter, and wild Half-can that stabbed Pots."

That *Measure for Measure* was written before 1607, may be fairly concluded from the following passage in a poem published in that year, which we have good ground to believe was copied from a similar thought in this play, as the author, at the end of his piece, professes a personal regard for Shakspeare, and highly praises his *Venus and Adonis*:[6]

"So play the foolish *throngs* with one that *swoons*;
"Come all to *help* him, and so stop the *air*
"By which he should revive."

Measure for Measure, Act II. sc. iv.

"And like as when some sudden extasie
"Seizeth the nature of a sicklie man;
"When he's discern'd to *swoone*, straite by and by
"Folke to his *helpe* confusedly have ran;
"And seeking with their art to fetch him backe,
"So many *throng*, that he the *ayre* doth lacke."

Myrrha the Mother of Adonis, or Luste's Prodigies, By William Barksted, a poem, 1607.

[6] See the verses alluded to, ante, p. 120, *& seq.* n. 7. This writer does not seem to have been very scrupulous about adopting either the thoughts or expressions of his contemporaries; for in his poem are found two lines taken *verbatim* from Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, printed four years before *Myrrha, the Mother of Adonis*, &c.

"Night, like a masque, was enter'd heaven's great hall,
"With thousand torches ushering the way."

It appears from Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, that W. Barksted was an actor, and was employed in the theatre where our author's plays were represented. He might therefore have performed a part in *Measure for Measure*, or have seen the copy before it was printed.

25. The Winter's Tale, 1604.

Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia*, from which the plot of this play was taken, was published in 1588.

The Winter's Tale was not entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623. It was acted at court in 1613.[7]

In the first edition of this essay I supposed *The Winter's Tale* to have been written in 1594; an error (as it now appears to me) into which I was

[7] MS. of the late Mr. Vertue.—I had observed in a note that Ben Jonson has ridiculed this play and *The Tempest*, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, which first appeared in the year 1614, and that he might have been induced to do so from their having been acted at court in the preceding year. But I am now inclined to think that he rather joined these plays in the same censure, in consequence of their having been produced at no great distance of time from each other; and that *The Winter's Tale* ought to have been ascribed to the year 1613. In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert I observe, that among the court-plays performed at Christmas were generally included the last new pieces which had been exhibited on the public stage. Several of Fletcher's latter plays were performed at court in the same year in which they were first represented. But the entry which has been quoted in a preceding page, relative to *The Winter's Tale*, furnishes a still stronger reason for referring it to this year; for it appears that it had been originally licensed by Sir George Buck, and that the licensed copy had been lost. The licensed copy of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, which was produced in the year 1613, was likewise lost, and afterwards re-licensed by Sir Henry Herbert on its revival in 1624-5. It is highly probable that *The Winter's Tale* was first exhibited at the Globe in the same year, and that both these pieces were destroyed by the fire which consumed the theatre, June 30, 1613.

Though Sir George Buck obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, in 1603, which title Camden has given him in the edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1607, it appears from various documents in the Pells-office that he did not get complete possession of his place till August 1610.

led by an entry in the Stationers' registers dated May 22, in that year, of a piece entitled *A Winter-Night's Pastime*, which I imagined might have been this play under another name, the titles of our author's plays having been sometimes changed.[8]

The opinion, however, which I gave on this subject, was by no means a decided one. I then mentioned that "Mr. Walpole thought, that this play was intended by Shakspeare as an indirect apology for Anne Bullen, in which light it might be considered as a Second Part to *King Henry VIII.*; and that my respect for that very judicious and ingenious writer, the silence of Meres, in whose catalogue of our author's dramas published in 1598 the play before us is not found, and the circumstance of there not being a single rhyming couplet throughout this piece, except in the chorus, made me doubt whether it ought not rather to be ascribed to the year 1601 or 1602, than that in which I then placed it."

The doubts which I then entertained, a more attentive examination of this play has confirmed; and I am now persuaded that it was not near so early a composition as the entry above mentioned led me to suppose.

Mr. Walpole has observed,[9] that "*The Winter's Tale* may be ranked among the historick plays of Shakspeare, though not one of his numerous criticks and commentators have discovered the drift of it. It was certainly intended (in compliment to

[8] Thus, *Hamlet* was sometimes called *Hamlet's Revenge*, sometimes *The History of Hamlet*; *The Merchant of Venice* was sometimes called *The Jew of Venice*, &c. See p. 313, n. 7.

[9] *Historick Doubts.*

Queen Elizabeth) as an indirect apology for her mother, Anne Boleyn. The address of the poet appears no where to more advantage. The subject was too delicate to be exhibited on the stage without a veil; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly, for the bard to have ventured so near an allusion on any other ground than compliment. The unreasonable jealousy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in consequence, form a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made the law the engine of his boisterous passions. Not only the general plan of the story is most applicable, but several passages are so marked, that they touch the real history nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial says,

" ———————— for honour,
" 'Tis a derivative from me to mine,
" And only that I stand for."

This seems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, when she pleads for the infant princess, his daughter. Mamillius, a young prince, an unnecessary character, dies in his infancy; but it confirms the allusion, as Queen Anne, before Elizabeth, had a still-born son. But the most striking passage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina describing the new-born princess, and her likeness to her father, says, " *she has the very trick of his frown.*" There is another sentence indeed so applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I should suspect the poet inserted it after her death. Paulina, speaking of the child, tells the king:

" ———— 'Tis yours;
" And, might we lay the old proverb to your charge,
" So like you, 'tis the worse."

This conjecture must, I think, be acknowledged to be extremely plausible. With respect, however, to the death of the young prince Mamillius, which is supposed to allude to Queen Anne's having had a still-born son, it is but fair to observe, that this circumstance was not an invention of our poet, being founded on a similar incident in Lodge's [Greene's] *Dorastus and Fawnia*, in which Garinter, the Mamillius of *The Winter's Tale*, likewise dies in his infancy. But this by no means diminishes the force of the hypothesis which has been just now stated; it only shows, that Shakspeare was not under the necessity of twisting the story to his purpose, and that this as well as the many other corresponding circumstances between the fictitious narrative of Bellaria, (the Hermione of the present play,) and the real history of the mother of Elizabeth, almost forced the subject upon him.

Sir William Blackstone has pointed out a passage in the first Act of this play, which had escaped my observation, and which, as he justly observes, furnishes a proof that it was not written till after the death of Queen Elizabeth:

> " —— " If I could find example
> " Of thousands, that had struck anointed kings,
> " And flourish'd after, I'd not do it; but since
> " Nor brass, nor stone, nor parchment, bears not one,
> " Let villainy itself forswear it."

These lines could never have been intended for the ear of her who had deprived the Queen of Scots of her life. To the son of Mary they could not but have been agreeable.

If we suppose with Mr. Walpole that this play was intended as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, it ought rather to be attributed to the year 1602,

than that in which I have placed it: but the passage last quoted is inconsistent with such a date. Mr. Walpole himself also has quoted some lines, which he thinks could not have been inserted till after the death of Elizabeth. Perhaps our author lay'd the scheme of the play in the very year in which the Queen died, and finished it in the next. This is the only supposition that I know of, by which these discordancies can be reconciled. I have therefore attributed it to 1604.

In that year was entered on the Stationers' books "A strange reporte of a *monstrous fish*, that appeared *in the form of a woman* from her waist upward, seene in the sea." To this perhaps the poet alludes, when he makes Autolycus produce a ballad "Of a *fish* that appeared upon the coast, on Wednesday the fourscore of April, forty thousand fathom above water, and *sung* this ballad against the hard hearts of maids: it was thought, *she was a woman*, and was turn'd into a cold fish," &c.

There is, says one of the characters in this piece, "but one *Puritan* among them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes." The precise manners of the puritans were at this time much ridiculed by protestants; and the principal matters in dispute between them (whether the surplice should be used in the celebration of divine service, the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage,) were gravely discussed at Hampton Court before the king, who acted as moderator, in the beginning of the year 1604. The points discussed on that occasion were, without doubt, very popular topicks at that time; and every stroke at the Puritans, for whom King James had a hearty detestation, must have been very agreeable to him as well as to the frequenters of the theatre, against which that sect inveighed in

the bitterest terms. Shakspeare, from various passages in his plays, seems to have entirely coincided in opinion with his majesty, on this subject.

The metre of *The Winter's Tale* appears to me less easy and flowing than many other of our poet's dramas; and the phraseology throughout to be more involved and parenthetical than any other of his plays. In this harshness of diction and involution of sentences it strongly resembles *Troilus and Cressida*, and *King Henry the Eighth*, which I suppose to have been written not long before.

26. King Lear, 1605.

The tragedy of *King Lear* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Nov. 26, 1607, and is there mentioned to have been played the preceding Christmas, before his majesty at Whitehall. But this, I conjecture, was not its first exhibition. It seems extremely probable that its first appearance was in March or April, 1605; in which year the old play of *King Leir*, that had been entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, was printed by Simon Stafford, for John Wright, who, we may presume, finding Shakspeare's play successful, hoped to palm the spurious one on the publick for his.[1] The old *King Leir* was entered on the Sta-

[1] Shakspeare has copied one of the passages in this old play. This he might have done, though we should suppose it not to have been published till after his *King Lear* was written and acted; for the old play had been in possession of the stage for many years before 1605; and without doubt he had often seen it exhibited; nor could he have found any difficulty in procuring a manuscript copy of it, when he sat down to write his own tragedy on the same subject. I suspect, however, the old play had been published in 1594.

tioners' books, May 8, 1605, as it was *lately* acted.

Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish Imposters*, from which Shakspeare borrowed some fantastick names of spirits, mentioned in this play, was printed in 1603. Our author's *King Lear* was not published till 1608.

This play is ascertained to have been written after the month of October, 1604, by a minute change which Shakspeare made in a traditional line, put into the mouth of Edgar:

> " His word was still,—Fye, foh, fum,
> " I smell the blood of a *British* man."

The old metrical saying, which is found in one of Nashe's pamphlets, printed in 1596, and in other books, was,

> " ——— ——— Fy, fa, fum,
> " I smell the blood of an *Englishman*."

Though a complete union of England and Scotland, which was projected in the first parliament that met after James's accession to the English throne, was not carried into effect till a century afterwards, the two kingdoms were united in *name*, and he was proclaimed king of *Great Britain*, October 24, 1604.

27. Cymbeline, 1605.

Cymbeline was not entered in the Stationers' books nor printed till 1623. It stands the last play in the earliest folio edition; but nothing can be collected from thence, for the folio editors manifestly paid

no attention to chronological arrangement. Nor was this negligence peculiar to them: for in the folio collection of D'Avenant's works printed after his death, *Albovine, King of the Lombards*, one of his earliest plays, which had been published in quarto, in 1629, is placed at the end of the volume.

I have found in *Cymbeline* little internal evidence by which its date may be ascertained. Such evidence, however, as it furnishes, induces me to ascribe it to 1605, after Shakspeare had composed *King Lear*, and before he had written *Macbeth*. The character of Edgar in *King Lear* is undoubtedly formed on that of *Leonatus*, the legitimate son of the blind king of Paphlagonia, in Sydney's *Arcadia*. Shakspeare having occasion to turn to that book while he was writing *King Lear*, the name of *Leonatus* adhered to his memory, and he has made it the name of one of the characters in *Cymbeline*. The story of Lear lies near to that of Cymbeline in Holinshed's Chronicle; and some account of Duncan and Macbeth is given incidentally in a subsequent page, not very distant from that part of the volume which is allotted to the history of those British kings. In Holinshed's *Scottish Chronicle* we find a story of one Hay, a husbandman, who, with his two sons, placed himself athwart a lane, and by this means stayed his flying countrymen; which turned the battle against the Danes. This circumstance, (which our poet has availed himself of in the fifth Act of the play before us) connected with what has been already mentioned relative to Sydney's *Arcadia*, renders it probable that the three plays of *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*, were written about the same period of time, and in the order in which I have

placed them. The history of King Duff, Duncan, and Macbeth, which Shakspeare appears to have diligently read, extends from p. 150 of Holinshed's *Scottish Chronicle*, to p. 176; and the story of Hay occurs in p. 154 of the same Chronicle.

Mr. Steevens has observed, that there is a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, which bears a strong resemblance to a speech of Jachimo in *Cymbeline*:

> "I hear the tread of people: I am hurt:
> "*The gods take part against me; could this boor*
> "*Have held me thus, else?*" *Philaster*, Act IV. sc. i.

> "———— I have bely'd a lady,
> "The princess of this country; *and the air of't*
> "*Revengingly enfeebles me; or could this carle,*
> "*A very drudge of nature's, have subdued me*
> "*In my profession?*" *Cymbeline*, Act IV. sc. ii.

Philaster had appeared on the stage before 1611, being mentioned by John Davies of Hereford, in his *Epigrams*, which have no date, but were published according to Oldys in or about that year.[a] Dryden mentions a tradition, (which he might have received from Sir William D'Avenant,) that *Philaster* was the first play by which Beaumont and Fletcher acquired reputation, and that they had written two or three less successful pieces, before *Philaster* appeared. From a prologue of D'Avenant's their first production should seem to have been exhibited about the year 1605. *Philaster*, therefore, it may be presumed, was represented in 1608 or 1609.

One edition of the tract called *Westward for*

[a] *Additions* to Langbaine's *Account of Dramatick Poets*, MS.

Smelts, from which part of the fable of *Cymbeline* is borrowed, was published in 1603.

In this play mention is made of Cæsar's immeasureable ambition, and Cleopatra's sailing on the Cydnus to meet Antony: from which, and other circumstances, I think it probable that about this time Shakspeare perused the lives of Cæsar, Brutus, and Mark Antony.

28. Macbeth, 1606.

Guthrie asserts in his History of Scotland, that King James, "to prove how thoroughly he was emancipated from the tutelage of his clergy, desired Queen Elizabeth in the year 1599 to send him a company of English comedians. She complied, and James gave them a licence to act in his capital and in his court. I have great reason to think, (adds the historian,) that the immortal Shakspeare was of the number.[3] But his drama, which finds access at this day to the most insensible hearts, had no charms in the eyes of the presbyterian clergy. They threatened excommunication to all who attended the playhouse. Many forebore to attend the theatrical exhibitions. James considered the insolent interposition of the clergy as a fresh attack upon his prerogative, and ordered those who had been most active, to retract their menaces, which they unwillingly did; and we are told that the playhouse was then greatly crouded."

I know not to what degree of credit this anec-

[3] If the writer had any ground for this assertion, why was it not stated? It is extremely improbable that Shakspeare should have left London at this period. In 1599 his *King Henry V.* was produced, and without doubt acted with great applause.

dote is entitled; but it is certain, that James, after his accession to the English throne, was a great encourager of theatrical exhibitions. From 1604 to 1608 he devoted himself entirely to hunting, masques, plays, tiltings, &c. In 1605 he visited Oxford. From a book entitled *Rex Platonicus*, cited by Dr. Farmer, we learn, that on entering the city the king was addressed by three students of St. John's College, who alternately accosted his majesty, reciting some Latin verses, founded on the prediction of the wëird sisters relative to Banquo and Macbeth.[4]

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that this performance preceded Shakspeare's play; a supposition which is strengthened by the silence of the author of *Rex Platonicus*, who, if *Macbeth* had then appeared on the stage, would probably have mentioned something of it. It should be likewise remembered, that there subsisted at that time, a spirit of opposition and rivalship between the regular players and the academicks of the two universities; the latter of whom frequently acted plays both in Latin and English, and seem to have piqued themselves on the superiority of their exhibitions to those of the established theatres.[5] Wishing probably to manifest

[4] See Vol. X. p. 300.

[5] Ab ejusdem collegii alumnis (qui et cothurno tragico et socco comico principes semper habebantur) *Vertumnus*, comœdia faceta, ad principes exhilarandos exhibetur. *Rex Platonicus*, p. 78.

Arcadiam restauratam Isiacorum Arcadum lectissimi cecinerunt, unoque opere, principum omniumque spectantium animos immensa et ultra fidem affecerunt voluptate; *simulque patrios ludiones etsi exercitatissimos, quantum intersit inter scenam mercenariam & eruditam docuerunt.* Ib. p. 228. See also, *The Return from Parnassus*, (Act IV. sc. iii.) which was acted publickly at St. John's College in Cambridge.

this superiority to the royal pedant, it is not likely that they would choose for a collegiate interlude, (if this little performance deserves that name,) a subject which had already appeared on the publick stage, with all the embellishments that the magick hand of Shakspeare could bestow.

In the following July (1606) the King of Denmark came to England on a visit to his sister, Queen Anne, and on the third of August was installed a knight of the garter. "There is nothing to be heard at court," (says Drummond of Hawthornden in a letter dated that day,) "but sounding of trumpets, hautboys, musick, revellings, and comedies." Perhaps during this visit *Macbeth* was first exhibited.

This tragedy contains an allusion to the union of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under one sovereign, and also to the cure of the king's-evil by the royal touch.[6] A ritual for the healing of that distemper was established early in this reign; but in what year that pretended power was assumed by King James I. is uncertain.

Macbeth was not entered in the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623.

In *The Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*, are these lines:

> "Why, think you, lords, that 'tis *ambition's* spur
> "That *pricketh* Cæsar to these high attempts?"

If the author of that play, which was published in 1607, should be thought to have had Macbeth's soliloquy in view, (which is not unlikely,) this

[6] *Macbeth*, Act IV. sc. i. ii.

circumstance may add some degree of probability to the supposition that this tragedy had appeared before that year:

" ——————— I have *no spur*
" To *prick* the sides of my intent, but only
" Vaulting *ambition*, which o'erleaps itself,
" And falls at the other ——."

At the time when Macbeth is supposed to have been written, the subject, it is probable, was considered as a topick the most likely to conciliate the favour of the court. In the additions to Warner's *Albion's England*, which were first printed in 1606, the story of "*The Three Fairies or Weird Elves*," as he calls them, is shortly told, and King James's descent from Banquo carefully deduced.

Ben Jonson, a few years afterwards, paid his court to his majesty by his *Masque of Queens*,[6] presented at Whitehall, Feb. 12, 1609; in which he has given a minute detail of all the magick rites that are recorded by King James in his book of *Dæmonologie*, or by any other author ancient or modern.

Mr. Steevens has lately discovered a MS. play, entitled The Witch, written by Thomas Middleton,[7] which renders it questionable, whether

[6] Mr. Upton was of opinion that this masque preceded *Macbeth*. But the only ground which he states for this conjecture, is, "that Jonson's pride would not suffer him to borrow from Shakspeare, though he stole from the ancients."

[7] In an advertisement prefixed to an edition of *A Mad World my Masters*, a comedy by Thomas Middleton, 1640, the printer says, that the author was "*long since dead*." Middleton probably died soon after the year 1626. He was chronologer to the city of London, and it does not appear that any masque or pageant, in honour of the Lord Mayor, was set forth by him after

Shakspeare was not indebted to that author for the first hint of the magick introduced in this tragedy. The reader will find an account of this singular curiosity in the note.[8]—To the observations of

that year.* From the dates of his printed plays, and from the ensuing verses on his last performance, by Sir William Lower, we may conclude, that he was as early a writer, and at least as old, as Shakspeare:

"*Tom Middleton* his numerous issue brings,
"And his last muse delights us when she sings:
"His halting age a pleasure doth impart,
"And his white locks shew master of his art."

The following dramatick pieces by Middleton appear to have been published in his life-time. *Your Five Gallants*, no date.—*Blurt Master Constable, or the Spaniard's Night-Walk*, 1602.—*Michaelmas Term*, 1607.—*The Phœnix*, 1607.—*The Family of Love*, 1608.—*A Trick to catch the Old One*, 1608.—*A Mad World my Masters*, 1608.—*The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse*, 1611.—*Fair Quarrel*, 1617.—*A Chaste Maid of Cheapside*, 1620.—*A Game at Chesse*, no date.—Most of his other plays were printed, about thirty years after his death, by Kirkman and other booksellers, into whose hands his manuscripts fell.

[8] In a former note on this tragedy, I have said that the original edition contains only the two first words of the song in the fourth Act, beginning—*Black spirits*, &c.; but have lately discovered the entire stanza in an *unpublished* dramatick piece, viz. "A Tragi-Coomodie called THE WITCH: *long since* acted by his Ma.ᵗⁱᵉˢ Servants at the Black Friers; written by *Tho. Middleton*." The song is there called—"A charme-song, about a vessell." The other song omitted in the 5th scene of the 3d Act of *Macbeth*, together with the imperfect couplet there, may likewise be found, as follows, in *Middleton's* performance.—The *Hecate* of *Shakspeare* says:

"I am for the air," &c.

The *Hecate* of *Middleton* (who like the former is summoned away by aerial spirits) has the same declaration in almost the same words: "I am for aloft," &c.

"*Song.*] Come away, come away: } *in the air.*
"*Hecat, Hecat*, come away. }

* *The Triumph of Health and Prosperity at the Inauguration of the most worthy Brother, the Right Hon. Cuthbert Hacket, draper; composed by* Thomas Middleton, draper, 1626, 4to.

Mr. Steevens I have only to add, that the songs, beginning, *Come away*, &c. and *Black spirits*, &c.

" *Hec.* I come, I come, I come,
" With all the speed I may,
" With all the speed I may.
" Wher's *Stadlin?*
" Heere.] *in the aire.*
" Wher's *Puckle?*
" Heere.] *in the aire.*
" And *Hoppo* too, and *Hellwaine* too.
" We lack but you, we lack but you: } *in the aire.*
" Come away, make up the count.
" *Hec.* I will but 'noynt, and then I mount.
" A spirit like a cat descends. { There's one comes downe to fetch his dues, A kisse, a coll, a sip of blood: And why thou staist so long " I muse, I muse, } *above.*
" Since the air's so sweet and good.
" *Hec.* Oh, art thou come?
" What newes, what newes?
" All goes still to our delight,
" Either come, or els } *above.*
" Refuse, refuse.
" *Hec.* Now I am furnish'd for the flight.
" *Fire.*] Hark, hark, the catt sings a brave treble in her owne [language.
" *Hec. going up.*] Now I goe, now I flie,
" *Malkin*, my sweete spirit, and I.
" Oh what a daintie pleasure 'tis,
" To ride in the aire.
" When the moone shines faire,
" And sing, and daunce, and toy and kiss!
" Over woods, high rocks and mountains,
" Over seas, our mistris' fountains,
" Over steepe towres and turrets,
" We fly by night 'mongst troopes of spiritts.
" No ring of bells to our eares sounds,
" No howles of woolves, no yelpes of hounds;
" No, not the noyse of waters'-breache,
" Or cannons' throat, our height can reache.
" No ring of bells, &c.] *above.*
Fire.] Well, mother, I thank your kindness: you must be

being found at full length in *The Witch*, while only the two first words of them are printed in *Macbeth*,

gambolling i' th'aire, and leave me to walk here, like a foole and a mortall. *Exit.* *Finis Actus Tercii.*"

This *Fire-stone*, who occasionally interposes in the course of the dialogue, is called, in the List of Persons Represented,—"The *Clowne* and *Hecat's* son."

Again, the *Hecate* of *Shakspeare* says to her sisters:

"I'll charm the *air* to give a sound,
"While you perform your antique round," &c.
[*Musick. The Witches dance and vanish.*

The *Hecate* of *Middleton* says on a similar occasion:

"Come, my sweete sisters, let the *aire* strike our tune,
"Whilst we shew reverence to yond peeping moone."
[*Here they dance and Exeunt.*

In this play, the motives which incline the Witches to mischief, their manners, the contents of their cauldron, &c. seem to have more than accidental resemblance to the same particulars in *Macbeth*. The hags of *Middleton*, like the weird sisters of *Shakspeare*, destroy cattle because they have been refused provisions at farm-houses. The owl and the cat (*Gray Malkin*) give them notice when it is time to proceed on their several expeditions. Thus *Shakspeare's* Witch:

"Harper cries:—'tis time, 'tis time."

Thus too the *Hecate* of *Middleton:*

"*Hec.*] Heard you the owle yet?
"*Stad.*] Briefely in the copps.
"*Hec.*] 'Tis high time for us then."

The *Hecate* of *Shakspeare*, addressing her sisters, observes, that Macbeth is but *a wayward son, who loves for his own ends, not for them.* The *Hecate* of *Middleton* has the same observation, when the youth who has been consulting her, retires:

"I know he loves me not, nor there's no hope on't."

Instead of the *grease that's sweaten from the murderer's gibbet*, and the *finger of birth-strangled babe*, the Witches of Middleton employ "the gristle of a man that *hangs after sunset*," (i. e. of a murderer, for all other criminals were anciently cut down before evening,) and the "fat of an unbaptized child." They likewise boast of the power to raise tempests that shall blow down trees, overthrow buildings, and occasion shipwreck; and, more particularly, that they can "*make miles of woods walk.*" Here too the Grecian *Hecate* is degraded into a presiding witch, and exercised in superstitions peculiar to our own country. So much

favour the supposition that Middleton's piece preceded that of Shakspeare; the latter, it should

for the scenes of enchantment: but even other parts of *Middleton's* play coincide more than once with that of *Shakspeare*. Lady *Macbeth* says, in Act II:

" ——————— the surfeited grooms
" Do mock their charge with *snores*. I have *drugg'd* their *possets*."

So too, *Francisca*, in the piece of *Middleton:*

" —— they're now all at rest,
" And Gaspar there and all:—List!—fast asleepe;
" He *cryes* it hither.—I must disease you strait, sir:
" For the maide-servants, and the girles o' th' house,
" I *spic'd* them lately with a *drowsie posset*,
" They will not hear in haste."

And *Francisca*, like Lady *Macbeth*, is watching late at night to encourage the perpetration of a murder.

The expression which *Shakspeare* has put into the mouth of *Macbeth*, when he is sufficiently recollected to perceive that the dagger and the blood on it, were the creation of his own fancy, —" There's no such thing,"—is likewise appropriated to *Francisca* when she undeceives her brother, whose imagination had been equally abused.

From the instances already produced, perhaps the reader would allow, that if *Middleton's* piece preceded *Shakspeare's*, the originality of the magick introduced by the latter, might be fairly questioned; for our author (who as actor, and manager, had access to unpublished dramatick performances) has so often condescended to receive hints from his contemporaries, that our suspicion of his having been a copyist in the present instance, might not be without foundation. Nay, perhaps, a time may arrive, in which it will become evident from books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined, that *Shakspeare* never attempted a play on any argument, till the effect of the same story, or at least the ruling incidents in it, had been already tried on the stage, and familiarized to his audience. Let it be remembered, in support of this conjecture, that dramatick pieces on the following subjects,—viz. *King John*, *King Richard II. and III. King Henry IV. and V. King Henry VIII. King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *and The Comedy of Errors*,—had appeared before those of *Shakspeare*, and that he has taken somewhat from all of them that we have hitherto seen. I must observe, at the same time, that *Middleton*, in his other dramas, is

seem, thinking it unnecessary to set down verses which were probably well known, and perhaps

found to have borrowed little from the sentiments, and nothing from the fables of his predecessors. He is known to have written in concert with *Jonson*, *Fletcher*, *Massinger*, and *Rowley*; but appears to have been unacquainted, or at least unconnected, with *Shakspeare*.

It is true that the date of THE WITCH cannot be ascertained. The author, however, in his dedication (*to the truelie-worthie and generously-affected Thomas Holmes, Esquire.*) observes, that he *recovered this ignorant ill-fated labour of his* (from the playhouse, I suppose,) *not without much difficultie. Witches* (continues he) *are, ipso facto, by the law condemn'd, and that onely, I thinck, hath made her lie so long in an imprison'd obscuritie.* It is probable, therefore, from these words, as well as from the title-page, that the play was written *long** before the dedication, which seems to have been added soon after the year 1603, when the act of King James against witches passed into a law. If it be objected, that THE WITCH appears from this title-page to have been acted only by *his* majesty's servants, let it be remembered that these were the very players who had been before in the service of the *Queen*; but *Middleton*, dedicating his work in the time of *James*, speaks of them only as dependants on the reigning prince.

Here too it may be remarked, that the first dramatick piece in which *Middleton* is known to have had a hand, viz. *The Old Law*, was acted in 1599; so that THE WITCH might have been composed, if not performed at an earlier period† than the accession of *James* to the crown; for the belief of witchcraft was sufficiently popular in the preceding reigns. The piece in question might likewise have been neglected through the caprice of players, or retarded till it could be known that *James* would permit

* That dramatick pieces were sometimes written *long* before they were printed, may be proved from the example of Marlowe's *Rich Jew of Malta*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1594, but was not published till 1633, as we learn from the preface to it written by *Heywood*. It appears likewise from the same registers, that several plays were written, that were never published at all. STEEVENS.

† The spelling in the MS is sometimes more antiquated than any to be met with in the printed copies of *Shakspeare*, as the following instances may prove:—*Byn* for *been*—*solempnely* for *solemnly*—*damnation* for *damnation*—*quight* for *quite*—*grizzel* for *grutle*—*don* for *doe*—*olyff* for *olive*, &c.
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then in the possession of the managers of the Globe theatre. The high reputation of Shakspeare's performances (to mention a circumstance which in the course of these observations will be more than once insisted upon) likewise strengthens this conjecture;

such representations; (for on his arrival here, both authors and actors who should have ventured to bring the midnight mirth and jollity of witches on the stage, would probably have been indicted as favourers of magick and enchantment:) or, it might have shrunk into obscurity after the appearance of *Macbeth*; or perhaps was forbidden by the command of the king. The witches of Shakspeare (exclusive of the flattering circumstance to which their prophecy alludes) are solemn in their operations, and therefore behaved in conformity to his majesty's own opinions. On the contrary, the hags of *Middleton* are ludicrous in their conduct, and lessen, by ridiculous combinations of images, the solemnity of that magick in which our scepter'd persecutor of old women most reverently and potently believed.

The conclusion to *Middleton's* dedication, has likewise a degree of singularity that deserves notice,—"For your sake alone, she hath thus conjur'd herself abroad; and bears no other charmes about her, but what may tend to your recreation; nor no other spell, but to possess you with a beleif, that as she, so he, that *first* taught her to enchant, will alwaies be," &c.—"He that taught her to enchant," would have sufficiently expressed the obvious meaning of the writer, without aid from the word *first*, which seems to imply a covert censure on some person who had engaged his *Hecate* in a *secondary* course of witchcraft.

The reader must have inferred from the specimen of incantation already given, that this MS. play (which was purchased by *Major Pearson* out of the collection of *Benjamin Griffin*, the player, and is in all probability the presentation copy) had indubitably passed through the hands of *Sir William D'Avenant*; for almost all the additions which he pretends to have made to the scenes of witchcraft in *Macbeth*, (together with the names of the supplemental agents) are adopted from *Middleton*. It was not the interest, therefore, of *Sir William*, that this piece should ever appear in print: but time that makes more important discoveries, has likewise brought his petty plagiarism to light.*

* Sir William D'Avenant might likewise have formed his play of *Albovine King of Lombardy* on some of the tragick scenes in this unpublished piece by

for it is very improbable, that Middleton, or any other poet of that time, should have ventured into those regions of fiction, in which our author had *already* expatiated:

> "—Shakspeare's magick could not *copied* be,
> "Within that circle none durst walk but he."

Other pieces of equal antiquity may, perhaps, be hereafter discovered; for the names of several ancient plays are preserved, which are not known to have been ever printed. Thus we hear of *Valentine and Orson, plaied by her Majesties players*,—The tragedy of *Ninus and Semiramis*,—*Titirus and Galathea*,—*Godfrey of Bulloigne*,—*The Cradle of Securitie*,—*Hit the Naile o'the Head*,—*Sir Thomas More*—(Harl. MS. 7,368,) *The Isle of Dogs*, by Thomas Nashe,—The comedy of *Fidele and Fortunatus*,—The famous tragedy of *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, by Dr. Legge,—*The Freeman's Honour*, by William Smith,—*Mahomet and Irene, the Faire Greek*,—*The Play of the Cards*,—*Cardenio*,—*The Knaves*,—*The Knot of Fools*,—*Raymond Duke of Lyons*,—*The Nobleman*, by Cyril Tourneur,—[the last five, acted in the year 1613,] *The honoured Loves*,—*The Parliament of Love*,—and *Nonsuch*, a comedy; all by William Rowley;—*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, by the author of *The Return from Par-*

I should remark, that *Sir W. D.* has corrupted several words as well as proper names in the songs, &c. but it were needless to particularize his mistakes, as this entire tragi-comedy will hereafter be published for the satisfaction of the curious and intelligent readers of *Shakspeare*. STEEVENS.

Middleton. Yet the chief circumstances on which they are both founded occur in the fourth volume of the *Histoires Tragiques*, &c. *par Francois de Belle-forest*, 1580, p. 297, and at the beginning of Machiavel's *Florentine History*. STEEVENS.

nassus,—*Believe as you list*, by Massinger,—*The Pirate*, by Davenport,—*Rosania or Love's Victory*, a comedy by Shirley, (some of whose plays were extant in MS. in Langbaine's time,)—*The Twins*, a tragedy, acted in 1613.—*Tancredo*, a tragedy, by Sir Henry Wotton,—*Demetrius and Marsina, or the imperial Impostor and unhappy Heroine*, a tragedy, —*The Tyrant*, a tragedy,—*The Queen of Corsica*,—*The Bugbears*,—*The Second Maid's Tragedy*,—*Timon*, a comedy,—*Cataline's Conspiracy*, a tragedy, —and *Captain Mario*, a comedy, both by Stephen Gosson,—*The True Historie of George Scanderbeg*, as played by the right hon. the Earl of Oxenforde's servants,—*Jane Shore*,—*The Bold Beauchamps*,—*The Second Part of Sir John Oldcastle*,—*The General*,—*The Toy*,—*The Tell-tale*,[a] a comedy,—*The Woman's Plot*,—*The Woman's too hard for Him*, [both acted at court in 1621.]—*The Love-sick Maid*, [acted at court in 1629.]—*Fulgius and Lucrelle*,—*The Fool Transformed*, a comedy,—*The History of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France*, a tragi-comedy,—*The Chaste Woman against her Will*, a comedy,—*The Tooth-Drawer*, a comedy,—*Honour in the End*, a comedy,—*The History of Don Quixote, or the Knight of the ill-favoured Countenance*, a comedy,—*The Fair Spanish Captive*, a tragi-comedy,—The tragedy of *Heildebrand*,—*Love yields to Honour*,—*The Noble Friend*, &c. &c. Soon after the Restoration, one Kirkman, a bookseller, printed many dramatick pieces that had remained unpublished for more than sixty years; and

[a] The persons represented in this play (which is in my possession) are—Duke; Fidelio; Aspero; Hortensio; Borgias; Picentio; Count Gismond; Fernese; Bentivoglio; Cosmo; Julio; Captain; Lieutenant; Ancient; two Doctors; an Ambassador; Victoria; Eleanor; Isabel; Lesbia.—Scene, Florence.

in an advertisement subjoined to "*A true, perfect, and exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, &c. that were ever yet printed and published, till this present year*, 1671," he says, that although there were at that time but eight hundred and six plays in print, yet many more had been written and acted, and that "he himself had *some quantity in manuscript.*"—The resemblance between *Macbeth* and this newly discovered piece by Middleton, naturally suggests a wish, that if any of the unpublished plays, above enumerated, be yet in being, (beside *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, *The Tell-tale*, *Timon*, and *Sir Thomas More*, which are well known to be extant,) their possessors would condescend to examine them with attention; as hence, perhaps, new lights might be thrown on others of our author's plays.

It has been already suggested, that it is probable our author, about the time of his composing *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth*, devoted some part of his leisure to the reading of the lives of Cæsar and Antony in North's translation of Plutarch. In the play before us there are two passages which countenance that conjecture. "Under him, says Macbeth,

> "My genius is rebuk'd, as, it is said,
> "Mark Antony's was by Cæsar."

The allusion here is to a passage of the Life of Antony; where Shakspeare also found an account of "the insane root that takes the reason prisoner," which he has introduced in *Macbeth*.

A passage in the 8th Book of Daniel's *Civil Wars* seems to have been formed on one in this tragedy.[1]

[1] See Vol. X. p. 71, n. 9.

The seventh and eighth Books of Daniel's poem were first printed in 1609.

29. Julius Cæsar, 1607.

A tragedy on the subject, and with the title, of *Julius Cæsar*, written by Mr. William Alexander, who was afterwards Earl of Sterline, was printed in the year 1607. This, I imagine, was prior to our author's performance, which was not entered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. Shakspeare, we know, formed at least twelve plays on fables that had been unsuccessfully managed by other poets;[a] but no contemporary writer was daring enough to enter the lists with him, in his life-time, or to model into a drama a subject which had already employed his pen: and it is not likely that Lord Sterline, who was then a very young man, and had scarcely unlearned the Scottish idiom, should have been more hardy than any other poet of that age.

I am aware, it may be objected, that this writer might have formed a drama on this story, not knowing that Shakspeare had previously composed the tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*; and that, therefore, the publication of Mr. Alexander's play in 1607, is no proof that our author's performance did not then exist.—In answer to this objection, it may, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that Mr. Alexander had, before that year, very wisely left the bleak fields of Menstrie in Clackmananshire, for a warmer and more courtly residence in London, having been appointed gentleman of the privy chamber

[a] See a note on *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. sc. i. in which they are enumerated.

to prince Henry: in which situation his literary curiosity must have been gratified by the earliest notice of the productions of his brother dramatists.

Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæsar*, though not printed till 1607, might have been written a year or two before; and perhaps its publication in that year was in consequence of our author's play on the same subject being then first exhibited. The same observation may be made with respect to an anonymous performance, called *The Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*,[3] of which an edition (I believe the second) was likewise printed in 1607. The subject of that piece is the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, the death of Julius, and the final overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. The attention of the town being, perhaps, drawn to the history of the *hook-nosed fellow of Rome*, by the exhibition of Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar*, the booksellers, who printed these two plays, might have flattered themselves with the hope of an expeditious sale for them at that time, especially, as Shakspeare's play was not then published.

It does not appear that Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæsar* was ever acted: neither it nor his other plays being at all calculated for dramatick exhibition. On the other hand, Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar* was a very popular piece; as we learn from Digges, a contemporary writer, who, in his commendatory verses prefixed to our author's works, has allu-

[3] There is an edition without date, which probably was the first. This play, as appears by the title-page, was privately acted by the students of Trinity College in Oxford. In the running title it is called *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar*; perhaps the better to impose it on the publick for the performance of Shakspeare.

ded to it as one of his most celebrated performances.[4]

We have certain proof that *Antony and Cleopatra* was composed before the middle of the year 1608. An attentive review of that play and *Julius Cæsar*, will, I think, lead us to conclude that this latter was first written.[5] Not to insist on the chronology

[4] "Nor fire nor cank'ring age, as Naso said
"Of his, thy wit-fraught book shall once invade:
"Nor shall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
"(Though miss'd) untill our bankrout stage be sped
"(Impossible!) with some new strain, t'out do
"Passions of *Juliet* and her *Romeo*;
"Or till I hear a scene *more nobly take*
"*Than when thy half-sword parlying Romans spake.*"

Verses by L. Digges, prefixed to the first edition of our author's plays, in 1623.

[5] The following passages in *Antony and Cleopatra*, (and others of the same kind may perhaps be found,) seem to me to discover such a knowledge of the appropriated characters of the persons exhibited in *Julius Cæsar*, and of the events there dilated and enlarged upon, as Shakspeare would necessarily have acquired from having previously written a play on that subject:

"*Pompey*.—I do not know
"Wherefore my father should revengers want,
"Having a son and friends, since *Julius Cæsar*,
"*Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted*,
"There saw you labouring for him. What was't,
"That mov'd *pale* Cassius to conspire? And what
"Made thee, *all-honour'd, honest, Roman Brutus*,
"With the arm'd rest, courtiers of beauteous freedom,
"To drench the capitol, but that they would
"Have one man but a man?"

So, in another place:

"When Antony found Julius Cæsar dead,
"He cry'd almost to roaring: and he wept,
"When at Philippi he found Brutus slain."

Again:

"*Ant.* He at Philippi kept
"His sword ev'n like a dancer, while I struck
"The *lean* and *wrinkled* Cassius; and 'twas I
"That the *mad* Brutus ended."

of the story, which would naturally suggest this subject to our author before the other, in *Julius Cæsar* Shakspeare does not seem to have been thoroughly possessed of Antony's character. He has indeed marked one or two of the striking features of it, but Antony is not fully delineated till he appears in that play which takes its name from him and Cleopatra. The rough sketch would naturally precede the finished picture.

Shakspeare's making the *capitol* the scene of Cæsar's murder, contrary to the truth of history, is easily accounted for, in *Hamlet*, where it afforded an opportunity for introducing a quibble; but it is not easy to conjecture why in *Julius Cæsar* he should have departed from Plutarch, where it is expressly said that Julius was killed in *Pompey's portico*, whose statue was placed in the centre. I suspect he was led into this deviation from history by some former play on the subject, the frequent repetition of which before his own play was written probably induced him to insert these lines in his tragedy:

> " — How many ages hence
> " Shall this our lofty scene be *acted* o'er,
> " In states unborn, and accents yet unknown!
> " How many times," &c.

" The accents yet unknown," could not allude to Dr. Eedes's *Latin* play exhibited in 1582, and therefore may be fairly urged as a presumptive proof that there had been some English play on this subject previous to that of Shakspeare. Hence I suppose it was, that in his earlier performance he makes Polonius say that in his youth he had *enacted* the part of the Roman Dictator, and had been killed by Brutus in the capitol; a scenick exhi-

bition which was then probably familiar to the greater part of the audience.

From a passage in the comedy of *Every Woman in her Humour*, which was printed in 1609, we learn, that there was an ancient droll or puppet-shew on the subject of Julius Cæsar. "I have seen (says one of the personages in that comedy,) *the City of Nineveh* and *Julius Cæsar* acted by mammets." I formerly supposed that this droll was formed on the play before us: but have lately observed that it is mentioned with other "motions," (*Jonas*, *Ninevie*, and *the Destruction of Jerusalem*,) in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, printed in 1605, and was probably of a much older date.

In the prologue to *The False One*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, this play is alluded to;* but in what year that tragedy was written, is unknown.

If the date of *The Maid's Tragedy* by the same authors, were ascertained, it might throw some light on the present inquiry; the quarrelling scene between Melantius and his friend, being manifestly copied from a similar scene in *Julius Cæsar*. It has already been observed that *Philaster* was the first play which brought Beaumont and Fletcher into reputation, and that it probably was represented in 1608 or 1609. We may therefore presume that the *Maid's Tragedy* did not appear before that year;

* "New titles warrant not a play for new,
"The subject being old; and 'tis as true,
"Fresh and neat matter may with ease be fram'd
"Out of their stories that have oft been nam'd
"With glory on the stage. What borrows he
"From him that wrought old Priam's tragedy,
"That writes his love for Hecuba? Sure to tell
"Of Cæsar's amorous heats, and *how he fell*
"*In the Capitol*, can never be the same
"To the judicious." Prologue to *The False One*.

for we cannot suppose it to have been one of the unsuccessful pieces which preceded *Philaster*. That the *Maid's Tragedy* was written before 1611, is ascertained by a MS. play, now extant, entitled *The* SECOND *Maid's Tragedy*, which was licensed by Sir George Buck, on the 31st of October, 1611. I believe it never was printed.[7]

If, therefore, we fix the date of the original *Maid's Tragedy* in 1610, it agrees sufficiently well with that here assigned to *Julius Cæsar*.

It appears by the papers of the late Mr. George Vertue, that a play called *Cæsar's Tragedy* was acted at court before the 10th of April, in the year 1613. This was probably Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar*, it being much the fashion at that time to alter the titles of his plays.

30. ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, 1608.

Antony and Cleopatra was entered on the Stationers' books, May 2, 1608; but was not printed till 1623.

In Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, Act iv. sc. iv. 1609, this play seems to be alluded to:

"*Morose*. Nay, I would sit out a play that were nothing but *fights at sea*, drum, trumpet, and target."

[7] This tragedy (as I learn from a MS. of Mr. Oldys) was formerly in the possession of John Warburton, Esq. Somerset Herald, and is now in the library of the Marquis of Lansdown. It had no author's name to it, when it was licensed, but was afterwards ascribed to George Chapman, whose name is erased by another hand, and that of *Shakspeare* inserted.

31. Timon of Athens, 1609.

32. Coriolanus, 1610.

These two plays were neither entered in the books of the Stationers' Company, nor printed, till 1623. Shakspeare, in the course of somewhat more than twenty years, having produced thirty-four or thirty-five dramas, we may presume that he was not idle any one year of that time. Most of his *other* plays have been attributed, on plausible grounds at least, to *former years*. As we have no proof to ascertain when the two plays under our consideration were written, it seems reasonable to ascribe them to that period, to which we are not led by any particular circumstance to attribute any other of his works; at which, it is supposed, he had not ceased to write; which yet, unless these pieces were then composed, must, for aught that now appears, have been unemployed. When once he had availed himself of North's Plutarch, and had thrown any one of the lives into a dramatick form, he probably found it so easy as to induce him to proceed, till he had exhausted all the subjects which he imagined that book would afford. Hence the four plays of *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon*, and *Coriolanus*, are supposed to have been written in succession. At the time he was writing *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth* there is reason to believe he began to study Plutarch with a particular view to the use he might make of it on the stage.[s] The Lives of Cæsar and Antony

[s] See p. 335, and p. 348.

are nearly connected with each other, and furnished him with the fables of two plays; and in the latter of these lives he found the subject of a third, *Timon of Athens*.

There is a MS. comedy now extant, on the subject of *Timon*, which, from the hand-writing and the style, appears to be of the age of Shakspeare. In this piece a steward is introduced, under the name of *Laches*, who, like Flavius, in that of our author, endeavours to restrain his master's profusion, and faithfully attends him when he is forsaken by all his other followers.—Here too a mock-banquet is given by Timon to his false friends; but, instead of warm water, stones painted like artichokes are served up, which he throws at his guests. From a line in Shakspeare's play, one might be tempted to think that something of this sort was introduced by him; though, through the omission of a marginal direction in the only ancient copy of this piece, it has not been customary to exhibit it:

> "2*d Senator*. Lord Timon's mad.
> "3*d Sen*. I feel it on my bones.
> "4*th Sen*. One day he gives us diamonds, next day *stones*."

This comedy (which is evidently the production of a scholar, many lines of Greek being introduced into it,) appears to have been written after Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, (1599,) to which it contains a reference; but I have not discovered the precise time when it was composed. If it were ascertained, it might be some guide t

us in fixing the date of our author's *Timon of Athens*, which, on the grounds that have been already stated,[9] I suppose to have been posterior to this anonymous play.

The great plagues of 1593 and 1603 must have made such an impression upon Shakspeare, that no inference can be safely drawn from that dreadful malady, being more than once alluded to in *Timon of Athens*. However, it is *possible* that the following passages were suggested by the more immediate recollection of the plague which raged in 1609.

"I thank them," says Timon, "and would send them back the plague, could I but catch it for them."

Again:

"Be as a planetary *plague*, when Jove
"Will o'er some *high-vic'd city* hang his poison
"I'the sick air."

Cominius, in the panegyrick which he pronounces on Coriolanus, says,

"—— In the brunt of seventeen battles since
"He *lurch'd* all swords *of the garland*."

In Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, Act V. sc. last, we find (as Mr. Steevens has observed) the same phraseology: "You have *lurch'd* your friends of the better half of *the garland*."

I formerly thought this a sneer at Shakspeare; but have lately met with nearly the same phrase in a pamphlet written by Thomas Nashe, and suppose it to have been a common phrase of that time.

[9] Page 348.

This play is ascertained to have been written after the publication of Camden's *Remaines*, in 1605, by a speech of Menenius in the first Act, in which he endeavours to convince the seditious populace of their unreasonableness by the well-known apologue of the members of the body rebelling against the belly. This tale Shakspeare certainly found in the Life of Coriolanus as translated by North, and in general he has followed it as it is there given: but the same tale is also told of Adrian the Fourth, by Camden in his *Remaines*, p. 199, under the head of *Wise Speeches*, with more particularity; and one or two of the expressions, as well as the enumeration of the functions performed by each of the members of the body, appear to have been taken from that book.

"On a time," says Menenius in *Plutarch*, "all the members of a man's body dyd rebel against the bellie, complaining of it that it only remained in the midest of the bodie without doing any thing, neither dyd bear any labour to the maintenaunce of the rest; whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynefully, and was veri careful to satisfy the appetites and desiers of the bodie. And so the bellie, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their follie, and sayde, it is true, I first receyve all meates that norishe mans bodie; but afterwardes I send it againe to the norishment of other partes of the same. Even so (q^{d}. he) o you, my masters and citizens of Rome," &c.

In Camden the tale runs thus: "All the members of the body conspired against the stomach, as against the *swallowing gulfe* of all their labours; for whereas *the eies beheld, the eares heard, the handes laboured, the feete travelled, the tongue spake, and all partes performed their functions;* onely the sto-

mache lay ydle and consumed all. Hereuppon they joyntly agreed al to forbeare their labours, and to pine away their lazie and publike enemy. One day passed over, the second followed very tedious, but the third day was so grievous to them all, that they called a common counsel. The eyes waxed dimme, the feete could not support the body; the armes waxed lazie, the tongue faltered, and could not lay open the matter. Therefore they all with one accord desired the *advice* of the *heart*. There *Reason* layd open before them," &c.

So, Shakspeare:

> " There was a time when all the body's members
> " Rebell'd against the belly; thus accus'd it:—
> " That only *like a gulph* it did remain
> " In the midst of the body, idle and unactive,
> " Still cupboarding the viand, never bearing
> " Like labour with the rest; where the other instruments
> " Did *see* and *hear*, *devise*, *instruct*, *walk*, *feel*,
> " And mutually participate did minister
> " Unto the appetite and affection common
> " Of the whole body. The belly answered—
> " True it is, my incorporate friends, quoth he,
> " That I receive the general food at first:—
> " ———— But, if you do remember,
> " I send it through the rivers of the blood,
> " Even to the court, *the heart*, *to the seat o'the brain*."

The heart is called by one of the citizens, " the *counsellor*-heart:" and in making the *counsellor*-heart the seat of the brain or understanding, where *Reason* sits enthroned, Shakspeare has certainly followed Camden.

The lat date which I have assigned to *Coriolanus*, derives likewise some support from Volumnia's exhortation to her son, whom she advises to address the Roman people—

" —— now humble as the *ripest mulberry*,
" Which cannot bear the handling."

In a preceding page I have observed that mulberries were not much known in England before the year 1609. Some *few* mulberry-trees however had been brought from France and planted before that period, and Shakspeare, we find, had seen some of the fruit in a state of maturity before he wrote *Coriolanus*.[1]

33. Othello, 1611.

Dr. Warburton thinks that there is in this tragedy a satirical allusion to the institution of the order of Baronets, which dignity was created by King James I. in the year 1611:

" ———— The hearts of old gave hands,
" But our new heraldry is hands, not hearts."
Othello, Act III. sc. iv.

" Amongst their other prerogatives of honour," (says that commentator,) " they [the new-created baronets] had an addition to their paternal arms, of an hand *gules* in an escutcheon argent. And we are not to doubt but that this was *the new heraldry* alluded to by our author; by which he insinuates,

[1] I have some doubts concerning the concluding remark on the date of this play. The tree which is fit for breeding silkworms, is the *white* mulberry, of which great numbers were imported into England in the year 1609: but *perhaps* we had the other species, which produces the best fruit, before that time. If that was the case, my hypothesis concerning the time when our poet planted the celebrated mulberry tree, may be controverted. *Valeat quantum valere possit.*

that some then created had hands indeed, but not hearts; that is, money to pay for the creation, but no virtue to purchase the honour."

Such is the observation of this critick. But by what chymistry can the sense which he has affixed to this passage, be extracted from it? Or is it probable that Shakspeare, who has more than once condescended to be the encomiast of the unworthy founder of the order of Baronets, who had been personally honoured by a letter from his majesty, and substantially benefited by the royal licence granted to him and his fellow-comedians, should have been so impolitick, as to satirize the king, or to depretiate his new-created dignity?

These lines appear to me to afford an obvious meaning, without supposing them to contain such a multitude of allusions:

Of old, (says Othello,) *in matrimonial alliances, the heart dictated the union of hands; but our modern junctions are those of hands, not of hearts.*

On every marriage the arms of the wife are *united* to those of the husband. This circumstance, I believe, it was, that suggested *heraldry*, in this place, to our author. I know not whether a heart was ever used as an armorial ensign, nor is it, I conceive, necessary to inquire. It was the office of the herald to *join*, or, to speak technically, to *quarter* the arms of the new-married pair.[2] Hence, with his usual licence, Shakspeare uses *heraldry* for *junction*, or *union* in general. Thus, in his *Rape of Lucrece*, the same term is employed to denote the *union* of colours which constitutes a beautiful complexion:

[2] "I may *quarter*, coz," says *Slender* in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. "You may (replies Justice Shallow) by *marrying*."

" This *heraldry* in Lucrece' face was seen,
" Argued by beauty's red, and virtue's white."

This passage not affording us any assistance, we are next to consider one in *The Alchemist*, by Ben Jonson, which, if it alluded to an incident in *Othello*, (as Mr. Steevens seems to think it does,) would ascertain this play to have appeared before 1610, in which year *The Alchemist* was first acted:

" *Lovewit.* Didst thou hear a cry, say'st thou?

" *Neighb.* Yes, sir, like unto a man that had been strangled an hour, and could not speak."

But I doubt whether *Othello* was here in Jonson's contemplation. Old Ben generally spoke out; and if he had intended to sneer at the manner of Desdemona's death, I think, he would have taken care that his meaning should not be missed, and would have written—" like unto a *woman*," &c.

This tragedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers' Company till Oct. 6, 1621, nor printed till the following year; but it was acted at court early in the year 1613.[3] How long before that time it had appeared, I have not been able to ascertain, either from the play itself, or from any contemporary production. I have, however, persuaded myself that it was one of Shakspeare's latest performances: a supposition, to which the acknowledged excellence of the piece gives some degree of probability. It is here attributed to the year 1611, because Dr. Warburton's comment on the passage above cited may convince others, though, I confess, it does not satisfy me.

Emilia and *Lodovico*, two of the characters in

[3] MS. Vertue.

this play, are likewise two of the persons represented in *May-Day*, a comedy by Chapman, first printed in 1611.

34. The Tempest, 1612.

Though some account of the Bermuda Islands, which are mentioned in this play, had been published in 1600, (as Dr. Farmer has observed,) yet as they were not generally known till Sir George Somers arrived there in 1609, *The Tempest* may be fairly attributed to a period subsequent to that year: especially as it exhibits such strong internal marks of having been a late production.

The entry at Stationers' Hall does not contribute to ascertain the time of its composition; for it appears not on the Stationers' books, nor was it printed, till 1623, when it was published with the rest of our author's plays in folio: in which edition, having, I suppose by mere accident, obtained the first place, it has ever since preserved a station to which indubitably it is not entitled.[4]

As the circumstance from which this piece receives its name, is at an end in the very first scene, and as many other titles, equally proper, might have occurred to Shakspeare, (such as *The Inchanted Island*,—*The banished Duke*,—*Ferdinand and Miranda*, &c.) it is possible, that some particular and recent event determined to call it *The Tempest*. It appears from Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 913, that in the October, November, and December of the year 1612, a dreadful tempest happened in England, "*which did exceeding great damage, with ex-*

[4] See p. 333, article, *Cymbeline*.

treme shipwrack throughout the ocean."—"*There perished*" (says the historian) "*above an hundred ships in the space of two houres.*"—Several pamphlets were published on this occasion, decorated with prints of sinking vessels, *castles toppling on their warders' heads*, the devil overturning steeples, &c. In one of them, the author describing the appearance of the waves at Dover, says, "*the whole seas appeared like a fiery world, all sparkling red.*" Another of these narratives recounts the escape of Edmond Pet, a sailor; whose preservation appears to have been no less marvellous than that of Trinculo or Stephano; and so great a terror did this tempest create in the minds of the people, that a form of prayer was ordered on the occasion, which is annexed to one of the publications above mentioned.

There is reason to believe that some of our author's dramas obtained their names from the seasons at which they were produced. It is not very easy to account for the title of *Twelfth-Night*, but by supposing it to have been first exhibited in the Christmas holydays.[3] Neither the title of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, nor that of *The Winter's Tale*, denotes the season of the action; the events which are the subject of the latter, occurring at the time of sheep-shearing, and the dream, from

[3] It was formerly an established custom to have plays represented at court in the Christmas holydays, and particularly on *Twelfth Night*. Two of Lyly's comedies (*Alexander and Campaspe*, 1584, and *Mydas*, 1592,) are said in their title-pages, to have been *played before the queenes majestie on Twelfe-day at night;* and several of Ben Jonson's masques were presented at Whitehall, on the same festival. Our author's *Love's Labour's Lost* was exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in the Christmas holydays; and his *King Lear* was acted before King James on St. Stephen's night: the night after Christmas-day.

which the former receives its name, happening on the night preceding May-day.—These titles, therefore, were probably suggested by the season at which the plays were exhibited, to which they belong; *A Midsummer Night's Dream* having, we may presume, been first represented in June, and *The Winter's Tale* in December.

Perhaps then it may not be thought a very improbable conjecture, that this comedy was written in the summer of 1612, and produced on the stage in the latter end of that year; and that the author availed himself of a circumstance then fresh in the minds of his audience, by fixing a title to it, which was more likely to excite curiosity than any other that he could have chosen, while at the same time it was sufficiently justified by the subject of the drama.

Mr. Steevens, in his observations on this play, has quoted from the tragedy of *Darius* by the Earl of Sterline, first printed in 1603, some lines[6] so

[6] " Let greatness of her glassy scepters vaunt,
" Not scepters, no but reeds, soon bruis'd, soon broken,
" And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
" *All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.*
" Those golden *palaces*, those *gorgeous* halls,
" With furniture superfluously fair,
" Those stately courts, those *sky-encountring* walls,
" *Evanish all like vapours in the air.*"
Darius, Act III. edit. 1603.

" ——————— These our actors,
" As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
" *Are melted into air, into thin air;*
" And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision,
" The *cloud-capt* tow'rs, the *gorgeous palaces*,
" The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
" Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
" And, like this unsubstantial pageant *faded*
" *Leave not a rack behind.*" *Tempest*, Act IV. sc. i.

strongly resembling a celebrated passage in *The Tempest*, that one author must, I apprehend, have been indebted to the other. Shakspeare, I imagine, borrowed from Lord Sterline.[7]

Mr. Holt conjectured,[8] that the masque in the fifth Act of this comedy was intended by the poet as a compliment to the Earl of Essex, on his being united in wedlock, in 1611, to Lady Frances Howard, to whom he had been contracted some years before.[9] However this might have been, the date which that commentator has assigned to this play, (1614,) is certainly too late; for it appears from the MSS. of Mr. Vertue, that the *Tempest* was acted by John Heminge and the rest of the King's Company, before prince Charles, the lady Elizabeth, and the prince Palatine elector, in the beginning of the year 1613.

The names of Trinculo and Antonio, two of the characters in this comedy, are likewise found in that of *Albumazar;* which was printed in 1614, but is supposed by Dryden to have appeared some years before.

Ben Jonson probably meant to sneer at this play in the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, first printed in 1616, and probably written a few years before:

> "———— nor *tempestuous* drum
> "Rumble to tell you when *the storm* will come."

[7] See note on *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. sc. i.

[8] Observations on *The Tempest*, p. 67. Mr. Holt imagined, that Lord Essex was united to Lady Frances Howard in 1610; but he was mistaken: for their union did not take place till the next year.

[9] Jan. 5, 1606-7. The Earl continued abroad four years from that time; so that he did not cohabit with his wife till 1611.

In the Induction to his *Bartholomew Fair* he has endeavoured to depreciate this beautiful comedy by calling it a *foolery*. Dryden, however, informs us that it was a very popular play at Blackfriars, but unluckily has not said a word relative to the time of its first representation there, though he might certainly have received information on that subject from Sir William D'Avenant.

The only note of time which I have observed in this play, is in Act II. sc. ii: "——when they [the English] will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." This probably alludes to some recent circumstance with which I am unacquainted.

35. Twelfth-Night, 1614.

It has been generally believed, that Shakspeare retired from the theatre, and ceased to write, about three years before he died. The latter supposition must now be considered as extremely doubtful; for Mr. Tyrwhitt, with great probability, conjectures, that *Twelfth-Night* was written in 1614: grounding his opinion on an allusion,[1] which it seems to contain, to those parliamentary *undertakers* of whom frequent mention is made in the Journals of the House of Commons for that year;[2] who were stigmatized with the invidious name, on account of their having *undertaken* to manage the elections of knights and burgesses in such a manner as to secure a majority in parliament for the court. If

[1] "Nay, if you be *an undertaker*, I am for you." See *Twelfth-Night*, Act IV. sc. iii. and the note there.

[2] *Comm. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 456, 457, 470.

this allusion was intended, *Twelfth-Night* was probably our author's last production; and, we may presume, was written after he had retired to Stratford. It is observable that Mr. Ashley, a member of the House of Commons, in one of the debates on this subject, says, "that the rumour concerning these *undertakers* had spread into the *country*."

When Shakspeare quitted London and his profession, for the tranquillity of a rural retirement, it is improbable that such an excursive genius should have been immediately reconciled to a state of mental inactivity. It is more natural to conceive, that he should have occasionally bent his thoughts towards the theatre, which his muse had supported, and the interest of his associates whom he had left behind him to struggle with the capricious vicissitudes of publick taste, and whom, his last Will shows us, he had not forgotten. To the necessity, therefore, of literary amusement to every cultivated mind, or to the dictates of friendship, or to both these incentives, we are perhaps indebted for the comedy of *Twelfth-Night;* which bears evident marks of having been composed at leisure, as most of the characters that it contains are finished to a higher degree of dramatick perfection, than is discoverable in some of our author's earlier comick performances.[3]

In the third Act of this comedy, Decker's *Westward Hoe* seems to be alluded to. *Westward Hoe* was printed in 1607, and from the prologue to *Eastward Hoe* appears to have been acted in 1604, or before.

[3] The comedies particularly alluded to, are, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream, The Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour's Lost,* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

Maria, in *Twelfth-Night*, speaking of Malvolio, says, "he does smile his face into more lines than the *new* map with the augmentation of the Indies." I have not been able to learn the date of the map here alluded to; but, as it is spoken of as a *recent* publication, it may, when discovered, serve to ascertain the date of this play more exactly.

The comedy of *What you will*, (the second title of the play now before us,) which was entered at Stationers' Hall, Aug. 9, 1607, was certainly *Marston's* play, as it was *printed* in that year for T. Thorpe, by whom the above mentioned entry was made; and it appears to have been the *general* practice of the booksellers at that time, *recently before publication*, to enter those plays of which they had procured copies.

Twelfth-Night was not registered on the Stationers' books, nor printed till 1623.

It has been thought, that Ben Jonson intended to ridicule the conduct of this play, in his *Every Man out of his Humour*, at the end of Act III. sc. vi. where he makes Mitis say,—"That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son in love with the lady's waiting-maid: *some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man*, better than be thus near and familiarly allied to the time."[4]

I do not, however, believe, that Jonson had here *Twelfth-Night* in contemplation. If an allusion to this comedy were intended, it would ascertain it to have been written before 1599, when *Every Man out of his Humour* was first acted. But Meres

[4] See the first note on *Twelfth-Night*, Act I, sc. i.

does not mention *Twelfth-Night* in 1598, nor is there any reason to believe that it then existed.

"Mrs. Mall's picture," which is mentioned in this play, probably means the picture of Moll Cutpurse, who was born in 1585, and made much noise in London about the year 1611.

The Sophy of Persia is twice mentioned in *Twelfth-Night*. 1. "I will not give my part of this sport for a pension of thousands to be paid by *the Sophy*." 2. "He pays you as sure as your feet hit the ground you step on. They say he has been fencer to *the Sophy*."

When Shakspeare wrote the first of these passages, he was perhaps thinking of Sir Robert Shirley, "who," says Stowe's Continuator, "after having served the Sophy of Persia for ten years as general of artillerie, and married the Lady Teresa, whose sister was one of the queens of Persia arrived in England as ambassador from the *Sophy* in 1612. After staying one year he and his wife returned to Persia, (Jan. 1612-13,) leaving a son, to whom the queen was godmother, and Prince Henry godfather."

Camden's account agrees with this, for according to him Sir Robert Shirley came to England on his embassy, June 26, 1612: but both the accounts are erroneous; for Sir Robert Shirley certainly arrived in London as ambassador from the Sophy in 1611, as appears from a letter written by him to Henry Prince of Wales, dated Nov. 4, 1611, requesting the prince to be god-father to his son.[5] Sir Robert, and his Persian lady, at this time made much noise; and Shakspeare,

[5] MSS. Harl. 7008.

it is highly probable, here alludes to the magnificence which he displayed during his stay in England, out of the funds allotted to him by the emperor of Persia. He remained in England about eighteen months.

If the dates here assigned to our author's plays should not, in every instance, bring with them conviction of their propriety, let it be remembered, that this is a subject on which conviction cannot at this day be obtained; and that the observations now submitted to the publick, do not pretend to any higher title than that of "AN ATTEMPT to ascertain the Chronology of the Dramas of Shakspeare."

Should the errors and deficiencies of this essay invite others to deeper and more successful researches, the end proposed by it will be attained: and he who offers the present arrangement of Shakspeare's dramas, will be happy to transfer the slender portion of credit that may result from the novelty of his undertaking, to some future claimant, who may be supplied with ampler materials and endued with a superior degree of antiquarian sagacity.

To some, he is not unapprized, this inquiry will appear a tedious and barren speculation. But there are many, it is hoped, who think nothing which relates to the brightest ornament of the English nation, wholly uninteresting; who will be gratified by observing, how the genius of our great poet gradually expanded itself, till, like his own Ariel, *it flamed amazement* in every quarter, blazing forth

with a lustre, that has not hitherto been equalled, and probably will never be surpassed.[6] MALONE.

[6] In the list of plays enumerated (p. 345,) by Mr. Malone as unpublished, he might have excepted two more of them which still remain in manuscript, viz. *The Queen of Corsica* and *The Bugbears*, both also in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The following is the list of plays formerly in the possession of Mr. Warburton, copied from his MS. in the possession of the same nobleman:

" *The honourable Loves*, by Will. Rowley.
" *Henry the First*, by Will. Shakespear and Robert Davenport.
" *The fair Favourite.*
" *Minerva's Sacrifice.* Phill. Massinger.
" *Duke Humphrey.* Will. Shakespear.
" *Citty Shuffler.*
" Sir John Suckling's Workes.
" *Nothing impossible to Love.* T. P. Sir Rob. le Greece.
" *The forc'd Lady.* T. Phill. Massinger.
" *The Governor.* T. Sir Corn. Formido.
" *The Lovers of Loodgate.*
" *The flying Voice*, by R. Wood.
" *The Mayden's Holaday*, by Christ. Marlowe.
" *The Puritan Maid, the modest Wife, and the wanton Widow*, by Tho. Middleton.
" *The London Merchant*, a Comedy, by Jo. Ford.
" *The King of Swedland.**
" *Love hath found out his Eyes*, by Tho. Jorden.
" *Antonio and Vallia*, by Phill. Massinger.
" *The Dutchess of Fernandina.* T. Henry Glapthorne.
" *Jocondo and Astolfo*, by Tho. Decker.
" *St. George for England*, by Will. Smithe.
" *The Parliament of Love*, by Wm. Rowley.
" *The Widow's Prise.* C. Will. Sampson.
" *The inconstant Lady.* Wm. Wilson.
" *The Woman's Plott.* Phill. Massinger.
" *The crafty Marshall.* C. Shack. Marmion.
" An Interlude, by Ra. Wood. (worth nothing.)
" *The Tyrant*, a Tragedy, by Phill. Massinger.
" *The Nonesuch*, a C. Wm. Rowley.
" *The Royal Combate.* C. By Jo. Forde.

* Query, if not Dekker's *King of Swethland*, entered on the Stationers' books June 29, 1660.

" *Philenzo and Hipolito.* C. Phill. Massinger.
" *Beauty in a Trance,* Mr. Jo. Forde.
" *The Judge.* C. By Phill. Massinger.
" *A good Beginning may have a good End,* by Jo. Forde.
" *Fast and welcome,* by Phill. Massinger.
" *Believe as you list.* C. By Phill. Massinger.
" *Hist. of Jobe,* by Robt. Green.
" *The Vestall,* a Tragedy, by H. Glapthorne.
" *Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her Sons.*
" *The Honour of Women.* C. by P. Massinger.
" *The noble Choice.* T. C. P. Massinger.
" A Musk. R. Govell.
" *Second Maiden's Tragedy.* George Chapman.
" *The Great Man.*
" *The Spanish Puechas.* C.
" *The Queen of Corsica.* T. By F. Jaques.
" *The Tragedy of Jobe.* (Good.)
" *The Nobleman.* T. C. Cyrill Tourneur.
" A Play by Will. Shakspeare.
" *Bugbears.* C. Jo. Geffrey.
" *Orpheus.* C.
" *'Tis good sleeping in a whole Skin.* W. Wager.
" *Fairy Queen.*

" After I had been many years collecting these MS. plays, through my own carelessness and the ignorance of my servant in whose hands I had lodged them, they were unluckily burn'd, or put under pye-bottoms, excepting the three which follow:
" *Second Maiden's Tragedy.*
" *Bugbears.*
" *Queen of Corsica.** J. WARBURTON."

Since the foregoing elaborate, and, for the most part, satisfactory result of a laborious enquiry was last published, the order of the plays of Shakspeare, as settled by Mr. Malone, has been controverted by Mr. Chalmers, who has formed a new arrangement; and in support of it has produced his evidence and assigned his reasons. To these (being too long to be here inserted) the reader is referred for farther satisfaction. On a subject which both parties admit does not pretend to the certainties of demonstration, a difference of opinion may be expected. Time, research, and accident may yet bring to light evidence to confirm or confute either party's statement. The arrangement of Mr. Malone being already before the reader it will be necessary to add that of Mr. Chalmers; and that a judgment may be formed

* Now in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

which claims the preference, both lists are subjoined. The first is by Mr. Chalmers, the second by Mr. Malone.

1.	The Comedy of Errors	1591 —	1593
2.	Love's Labour's Lost	1592 —	1594
3.	Romeo and Juliet	1592 —	1595
4.	Henry VI. the First Part	1593 —	1589
5.	Henry VI. the Second Part	1595 —	1591
6.	Henry VI. the Third Part	1595 —	1591
7.	The Two Gentlemen of Verona	1595 —	1595
8.	Richard III.	1595 —	1597
9.	Richard II.	1596 —	1597
10.	The Merry Wives of Windsor	1596 —	1601
11.	Henry IV. the First Part	1596 —	1597
12.	Henry IV. the Second Part	1597 —	1598
13.	Henry V.	1597 —	1599
14.	The Merchant of Venice	1597 —	1598
15.	Hamlet	1597 —	1596
16.	King John	1598 —	1596
17.	A Midsummer-Night's Dream	1598 —	1592
18.	The Taming of the Shrew	1598 —	1594
19.	All's Well that Ends Well	1599 —	1598
20.	Much Ado about Nothing	1599 —	1600
21.	As You Like It	1599 —	1600
22.	Troilus and Cressida	1600 —	1602
23.	Timon of Athens	1601 —	1609
24.	The Winter's Tale	1601 —	1604
25.	Measure for Measure	1604 —	1603
26.	Lear	1605 —	1605
27.	Cymbeline	1606 —	1605
28.	Macbeth	1606 —	1606
29.	Julius Cæsar	1607 —	1607
30.	Anthony and Cleopatra	1608 —	1608
31.	Coriolanus	1609 —	1610
32.	The Tempest	1613 —	1612
33.	The Twelfth-Night	1613 —	1614
34.	Henry VIII.	1613 —	1601
35.	Othello	1614 —	1611

See *Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers.* By George Chalmers, F. R. S. A. S. p. 266.

REED.

SHAKSPEARE, FORD, AND JONSON.

——— *ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus,*
In sese redit. VIRG.

I Have long had great doubts concerning the authenticity of the facts mentioned in a letter printed in p. 188, of this Vol. giving a pretended extract from a pamphlet of the last age, entitled "Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover*," containing some anecdotes of Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and John Ford, the dramatick poet; and suspected that the plausible tale which the writer of the letter alluded to has told, was an innocent forgery, fabricated for the purpose of aiding a benefit, and making the town believe that *The Lover's Melancholy* came from the mint of Shakspeare. Some additional information on this subject, which I have lately obtained, appears to me so decisively to confirm and establish my opinion, that I shall here, though somewhat out of place, devote a few pages to the examination of this question.

Having always thought with indignation on the tastelessness of the scholars of that age in preferring Jonson to Shakspeare after the death of the latter, I did not find myself much inclined to dispute the authenticity of a paper, which, in its general tenour, was conformable to my own notions: but the love of truth ought ever to be superior to such considerations. Our poet's fame is fixed upon a basis

as broad and general as the casing air, and stands in no need of such meretricious aids as the pen of fiction may be able to furnish. However, before I entered on this discussion, I thought it incumbent on me to apply to Mr. Macklin, the author of the letter in question, upon the subject: but his memory is so much impaired, (he being now in the ninety-first year of his age,) that he scarcely recollects having written such a letter, much less the circumstances attending it. I ought, however, to add, that I had some conversation with him a few years ago upon the same topick, and then strongly urged to him that no kind of disgrace could attend his owning that this letter was a mere *jeu d'esprit*, written for an occasional harmless purpose: but he persisted in asserting that the pamphlet of which he has given an account, (for which I in vain offered by a publick advertisement, continued for some time in the newspapers, to pay two guineas, and of which no copy has been found in any publick or private library in the course of forty years,) was once in his possession; was printed in quarto, and bound up with several small political tracts of the same period; and was lost with a large collection of old plays and other books, on the coast of Ireland, in the year 1760. I cannot therefore boast, *habeo confitentem reum*. However, let the point be tried by those rules of evidence which regulate trials of greater importance; and I make no doubt that I shall be able to produce such testimony as shall convict our veteran comedian of having, sportively, ingeniously, and falsely, (though with no malice afore-thought,) invented and fabricated the narrative given in the letter already mentioned, contrary to the Statute of Biography, and other wholesome laws of the Parnassian Code, in this case made

and provided, for the security of the rights of authors, and the greater certainty and authenticity of dramatick history.

Nor let our poet's admirers be at all alarmed, or shrink from this discussion; for after this slight and temporary fabrick, erected to his honour, shall have been demolished, there will still remain abundant proofs of the gentleness, modesty, and humility of Shakspeare; of the overweening arrogance of old Ben; and of the ridiculous absurdity of his partizans, who for near a century set *above* our great dramatick poet a writer whom no man is now hardy enough to mention as even his competitor.

I must premise, that the *Lover's Melancholy*, written by John Ford, was *announced* for representation at Drury-lane theatre on Friday the 22d of April, 1748. Mr. Steevens has mentioned that it was performed for *a benefit*; but the person for whose benefit this play was acted is in the present case very material: it was performed *for the benefit of Mrs. Macklin*; and consequently it was the *interest* of Mr. Macklin that the entertainment of that night should prove profitable, or in other words that such expectation should be raised among the frequenters of the play-house as should draw together a numerous audience. Mr. Macklin, who had then been on the stage about twenty-five years, was sufficiently conversant with the arts of puffing, which, though now practised with perhaps superior dexterity, have at all times (by whatever name they may have gone) been tolerably well understood: and accordingly on Tuesday the 19th of April, three days before the day appointed for his wife's benefit, he inserted the following letter in *The General* (now *The Publick*) *Advertiser*,

which appears to have escaped the notice of my predecessor:

'Sir,

'As *The Lover's Melancholy*, which is to be revived on *Friday* next at the theatre-royal in Drury-Lane, for the benefit of Mrs. Macklin, is a scarce play, and in a very few hands, it is hoped, that a short account of the author, his works in general, and of that piece in particular, will not be unacceptable to the publick.'

'John Ford, Esq. was of the Middle Temple, and though but a young man when Shakspeare left the stage, yet as he lived in strict friendship with him till he died, *which appears by several of Ford's sonnets and verses*, it may be said with some propriety, that he was a contemporary of that great man's.'

'It is said that he wrote twelve or fourteen dramatick pieces, eight of which only have been collected, viz. *The Broken Heart*, *Love's Sacrifice*, *Perkin Warbeck*, *The Ladies' Trial*, *'Tis Pity she's a Whore*, *The Sun's Darling*, a Masque, and *The Lover's Melancholy*.'

'Most of those pieces have great merit in them, particularly *The Lover's Melancholy*; which in the private opinion of many admirers of the stage, is written with an art, ease, and dramatick spirit, inferior to none before or since his time, Shakspeare excepted.'

'The moral of this play is obvious and laudable; the fable natural, simple, interesting, and perfect in all its parts; the action one and entire; the time twelve hours, and the place a palace.'

'The writing, as the piece is of that species of the drama, which is neither tragedy, nor comedy,

but a play, is often in familiar, and sometimes in elevated, prose, *after the manner of Shakspeare;* but when his subject and characters demand it, he has sentiment, diction, and flowing numbers, at command.'

'His characters are natural, and well chosen, and so distinct in manners, sentiment, and language, that each as he speaks would distinctly live in the reader's judgment, without the common help of marginal directions.'

'As Ford was an intimate and a professed admirer of Shakspeare, it is not to be wondered at, that *he often thinks and expresses like him;* which is not his misfortune, but his happiness; for when he is most like Shakspeare, he is most like nature. He does not put you in mind of him like a plagiarist, or an affected mere imitator; but like a true genius, who had studied under that great man, and could not avoid catching some of his divine excellence.'

'This praise perhaps by some people may be thought too much: of that the praiser pretends not to be a judge; he only speaks his own feeling, not with an intent to impose, but to recommend a treasure to the publick, that for a century has been buried in obscurity; which *when they have seen*, he flatters himself that they will think as well of it as he does; and should that be the case, the following verses, written by Mr. Ford's contemporaries, will shew, that neither the present publick, nor the letter-writer, are singular in their esteem of *The Lover's Melancholy.*'

" To my honoured friend, Master JOHN FORD, on his [excellent play, *The*][7] *Lover's Melancholy*.

" If thou that think'st these lines thy worth can raise,
" Thou dost mistake; my liking is no praise:
" Nor can I think thy judgment is so ill,
" To seek for bays from such a barren quill.
" Let your true critick that can judge and mend,
" Allow thy scenes and stile: I, as a friend
" That knows thy worth, do only stick my name,
" To shew my love, not to advance thy fame."

" G. DONNE."

" On [that excellent play] *The Lover's Melancholy*.

" 'Tis not the language, nor the fore-plac'd rhimes
" Of friends that shall commend to after-times
" *The Lover's Melancholy;* its own worth
" Without a borrow'd praise shall set it forth."

PHILOS.[8]

" Your's, B. B."

How far *The Lover's Melancholy* is entitled to all this high praise, it is not my business at present to inquire. I shall only observe, that this kind of prelude to a benefit play appears at that period to have been a common artifice. For *The Muses Looking-Glass*, an old comedy of Randolph's, being revived for the benefit of Mr. Ryan in 1748, I find

[7] The words within crotchets here and below were interpolated by Mr. Macklin, not being found in the original.

[8] In the original, this signature is in Greek characters, Ο φιλος; a language with which Mr. Macklin is unacquainted. In this instance therefore he must have had the assistance of some more learned friend.

an account of the author, and an high elogium on his works, in the form of a letter, inserted in the month of March, in the same newspaper.

In the preceding letter it is observable, we are only told that the author of *The Lover's Melancholy* lived in the strictest intimacy with Shakspeare till he died, *as appears by several of Ford's Sonnets and Verses* (which unluckily, however, *are no where to be found*); that the piece is inferior to none written before or since, except those of Shakspeare; that as Ford was an intimate and professed admirer of Shakspeare, and had studied under him, it is not to be wondered at that it should be written *in his manner*, and that the author should have caught some portion of his divine excellence; but no hint is yet given, that *The Lover's Melancholy* had a still higher claim to the attention of the town than being written in Shakspeare's manner, namely its being supposed to be compiled from the papers of that great poet, which, after his death, as we shall presently hear, fell into Ford's hands. And yet undoubtedly this valuable piece of information was on Monday the 21st day of April, (when this letter appears to have been written,) in Mr. Macklin's possession, *if ever he was possessed of it;* for so improbable a circumstance will not, I suppose, be urged, as that he found the uncommon pamphlet in which it is said to be contained, between that day and the following Friday.

Judiciously as the preceding letter was calculated to attain the end for which it was written, it appears not to have made a sufficient impression on the publick. All the boxes for Mrs. Macklin's benefit, it should seem, were not yet taken; and the town was not quite so anxious as might have been expected, to see this transcendent and incompara-

ble secular tragedy; though it was announced in the bills as not having been performed for one hundred years; though its moral, fable, and action, were all perfect and entire; though the time consumed in the drama was as little as the most rigid French critick could exact: and though the audience during the whole representation would enjoy the supreme felicity of beholding not a forest, an open plain, or a common room, but the inside of a palace. What then was to be done? An ordinary application having failed, Spanish flies are to be tried; for though the publick might not go to see a play *written in the manner of Shakspeare*, they could not be so insensible as not to have some curiosity about a piece, which, if the insinuations of the author's contemporaries were to be credited, was *actually written by him;* a play, which none of them had ever seen represented, and very few had read or even heard of. Mr. Barry, a principal performer in this revived tragedy, is very *commodiously* taken ill; and the representation, which had been announced for Friday the 22d, is deferred to Thursday the 28th, of April. Full of the new idea, the letter-writer takes up his pen; but fabricks of this kind are not easily constructed, so as to be secure on every side from assault. However, in three days the whole structure was raised; and on Saturday morning the 23d of April appeared in *The General Advertiser* a Second Eulogy on *The Lover's Melancholy*, which I am now to examine.

This letter of the 23d of April which we are now to consider, being printed in a foregoing page,[9] the reader can easily turn to it. Before, however, I enter upon an examination of its con-

[9] See p. 188.

tents, I will just observe, that the attention of the publick had been drawn in a peculiar manner to our author's productions by the publication of Dr. Warburton's long expected edition of his plays in the preceding year, and was still more strongly fixed on the same object by Mr. Edwards's ingenious *Canons of Criticism*, which first appeared in the month of April, 1748.

Mr. Macklin begins his second letter with the mention of a pamphlet written in the reign of Charles the First, with this quaint title—"Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover;*" and as this curious pamphlet contains "some historical anecdotes and altercations concerning Ben Jonson, Ford, Shakspeare, and *The Lover's Melancholy*," he makes no doubt that a few extracts from it will "*at this juncture*" be acceptable to the publick.

He next observes, that Ben Jonson from great critical language, (*learning*, he should have said,) which was then the portion of but very few, from his merit as a poet, and his association with men of letters, for a considerable time gave laws to the stage. That old Ben was splenetick, sour, and envious; too proud of his own works, and too severe in his censure of those of his contemporaries. That this arrogance raised him many enemies, who were particularly offended by the *slights* and *malignancies* which the *rigid* Ben threw out against the *lowly Shakspeare*, "whose fame, *since his death*, as appears by the pamphlet, was grown too great for Ben's envy either to bear with or wound."

To give the whole of these invectives, we are then told, would take up too much room; but among other instances of Jonson's ill-nature and ingratitude to Shakspeare, "who first introduced him

to the theatre and to fame," it is stated, *from the pamphlet*, that Ben had asserted, that Shakspeare had indeed wit and imagination, but that they were not guided by judgment, being ever servile to raise the laughter of fools, and the wonder of the ignorant; that he had little Latin, and less Greek: and the writer of the pamphlet, as a further proof of Ben's malignity, quotes some lines from the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*:

> " To make a child new swaddled, to proceed
> " Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,
> " Past threescore years," &c.

which were levelled at some of Shakspeare's plays. The first of the lines quoted, and above given, we are told in a note, was pointed at *The Winter's Tale*; but whether this note was furnished by the pamphlet, or by the writer of the letter, we are left to conjecture. Whichsoever of these we are to suppose, the fact is undoubtedly not true; for the new-born child introduced in *The Winter's Tale* never does in the course of the play shoot up *man*, being no other than the lovely Perdita. In the following lines, however, of that prologue, our poet is undoubtedly sneered at.

So much for Shakspeare. We are now brought to *The Lover's Melancholy*; the *extraordinary success* of which, the pamphlet informs us, wounded Ben the more sensibly, as it was brought out on the same stage, *and in the same week*, with his *New Inn*, or *Light Heart*, which was damned; and as Ford, the writer of *The Lover's Melancholy*, was at the head of Shakspeare's partizans. The ill success of the *Light Heart*, we are next told, so incensed Jonson, that, when he printed his play, he described it in the title-page, as a comedy *never acted, but most*

negligently played by some, the king's idle servants, and more squeamishly beheld and censured by others, the king's foolish subjects; and *immediately upon this*, adds the letter-writer, he wrote his famous ode, "Come, leave the loathed stage," &c. The revenge which he took on Ford, was, as we are told, (from the pamphlet,) the writing an epigram upon him, in which there is an allusion, as we are informed in a note, to a character in a play of Ford's "which *Ben says, Ford stole from him.*"

The next information which we derive from this curious pamphlet, is entirely new, no trace of it being found in the preface prefixed by the first editors to the folio edition of Shakspeare's plays in 1623, or in any other book of those times. This curious fact is, that John Ford, in conjunction with our poet's friends, Heminge and Condell, had the revisal of his papers after his death; and that Ben asserted, Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, by the connivance of his associates in this trust, was stolen from those papers. This malicious charge gave birth, we are told, to many verses and epigrams, which are set forth in the pamphlet, but the letter-writer contents himself with producing two copies of these verses only,[1] to one of which is subscribed the name of *Thomas May*, and to the other these words: "*Endim. Porter*, the supposed author of these verses."

Such is the substance of Mr. Macklin's second letter. Let us now separately examine the parts of which it is composed.

The quaint title which the writer of this letter

[1] Of all the ancient poems which Chatterton pretended to have found in the famous Bristol chest, he wisely produced, I think, but *four*, that he ventured to call originals.

has given to this creature of his own imagination, (for so I shall now take leave to call the pamphlet,) "Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover*," is, it must be acknowledged, most happily invented, and is so much in the manner of those times, that it for a long time staggered my incredulity, and almost convinced me of the authenticity of the piece to which it is said to have been affixed; and not a little, without doubt, did the inventor plume himself on so fortunate a thought. But how short-sighted is man! This very title, which the writer thus probably exulted in, and supposed would serve him,

> "———— as a charmed shield,
> "And eke enchanted arms that none might pierce,"

is one of the most decisive circumstances to prove his forgery.

> "Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ!
> "Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
> "Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista, diemque
> "Oderit.—
> "———— Pallas te, hoc vulnere, Pallas
> "Immolat, et pœnam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."

Ben Jonson was in his own time frequently called the *judicious* Ben, the *learned* Ben, the *immortal* Ben, but had not, I believe, at the time this pamphlet is supposed to have been published, obtained the appellation of *Old* Ben. However, as this title was given him some years afterwards by Sir John Suckling, in his *Session of the Poets*, which appears to have been written in August, 1637, about the time of Jonson's death, (See Strafford's Lett. Vol. II. p. 114,) which celebrated poem, as well as the language of the present day, probably sug-

gested the combination of *Old Ben* to Mr. Macklin, I shall lay no stress upon this objection. But the other part of the title of this pamphlet—"*Young John's* Melancholy Lover," is very material in the present disquisition.—John Ford, in the Dedication to his *Lover's Melancholy*, says, that was the first *play* which he had *printed*; from which the letter-writer concluded that he must then have been a young man. In this particular, however, he was egregiously mistaken; for John Ford, who was the second son of Thomas Ford, Esq. was born at Ilsington in Devonshire, and baptized there April 17, 1586.[2] When he was not yet seventeen, he became a member of the Middle Temple, November 16, 1602, as I learn from the Register of that Society; and consequently in the year 1631, when this pamphlet is supposed to have been published, he had no title to the appellation of *young* John, being forty-five years old. And though *The Lover's Melancholy* was the first play that he published, he had produced the Masque of *The Sun's Darling* on the stage five years before, namely, in March, 1623-4; had exhibited one or more plays before that time; and so early as in the year 1606 had published a poem entitled *Fame's Memorial*, of which I have his original presentation-copy in MS. in my collection. These are facts, of the greater part of which no writer of that time, conversant with dramatick history, could have been ignorant. Here certainly I might safely close the evidence; for Ben Jonson was born on the 11th of June, 1574,[3]

[2] For this information I am indebted to the Reverend Mr. Falk, Vicar of Ilsington.

[3] According to the best accounts. The precise year however of this poet's birth has not been ascertained. Fuller tells us, that

and consequently in 1631 was in his fifty-seventh year; a period of life at which, though not in the

"with all his industry he could not find him in his cradle, but that he could fetch him from his long coats:—when a little child, he lived in Hartshorne-lane near Charing-Cross." I in vain examined the Register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and St. Martin's in the Fields, for the time of his baptism. There is a *lacuna* in the latter register from February to Dec. 1574. Ben Jonson therefore was probably born in that year, and he has himself told us that he was born on the 11th of June. This agrees with the account given by Anthony Wood, who says, that before his death in August 1637, he had completed his sixty-third year. I found in the Register of St. Martin's, that a Mrs. Margaret Jonson was married in November 1575 to Mr. Thomas Fowler. He was perhaps the poet's step-father, who is said to have been a bricklayer.

The greater part of the history of this poet's life is involved in much confusion. Most of the facts which have been transmitted concerning him, were originally told by Anthony Wood; and there is scarcely any part of his narrative in which some error may not be traced. Thus we are told, that soon after his father's death his mother married a bricklayer; that she took her son from Westminster-school, and made him work at his step-father's trade. He helped, says Fuller, at the building of the new structure in Lincoln's-Inn, where having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket: and this book Mr. Gildon has found out to be *Horace*. In this situation, according to Wood, being pitied by his old master, Camden, he was recommended to Sir Walter Raleigh as a tutor to his son; and after attending him on his adventures, they parted, on his return, not, as I think, says Wood, in cold blood. He *then*, we are told, was admitted into St. John's college in Cambridge, and after a short stay there, went to London, and became an actor in the Curtain playhouse: and soon afterwards, "having improved his fancy by keeping scholastick company, he betook himself to writing plays." Lastly, we are told by the same writer, on the death of Daniel [in October 1619] "he succeeded him as poet-laureat, as Daniel succeeded Spenser."

If Jonson ever worked with his step-father at his trade in Lincoln's-Inn, it must have been either in 1588, or 1593, in each of which years, as I learn from Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, some new buildings were erected by that society. He could not have been taken from thence to accompany young Raleigh on

hey-day of the blood, he could with no great propriety be called *Old*, unless by way of opposition to

his travels, who was not born till 1594, nor even went abroad except with his father in 1617 to Guiana, where he lost his life. The poet might indeed about the year 1610 or 1611 have been private tutor to him: and it is probable that their connexion was about that time, as Jonson mentions that he furnished Sir Walter Raleigh with a portion of his History of the World, on which Sir Walter must have been then employed; but if the tutor and the pupil then parted in ill humour, it was rather too late for Jonson to enter into St. John's college, at the age of thirty-four or thirty-five years.

That at some period he was tutor to young Raleigh, is ascertained by the following anecdote, preserved in one of Oldys's Manuscripts:

"Mr. Camden recommended him to Sir Walter Raleigh, who trusted him with the care and education of his eldest son Walter, a gay spark, who could not brook Ben's rigorous treatment, but perceiving one foible in his disposition, made use of that to throw off the yoke of his government: and this was an unlucky habit Ben had contracted, through his love of jovial company, of being overtaken with liquor, which Sir Walter did of all vices most abominate, and hath most exclaimed against. One day, when Ben had taken a plentiful dose, and was fallen into a sound sleep, young Raleigh got a great basket, and a couple of men, who lay'd Ben in it, and then with a pole carried him between their shoulders to Sir Walter, telling him, their young master had sent home his tutor."—"This, (adds Mr. Oldys,) I have from a MS. memorandum-book written in the time of the civil wars by Mr. Oldisworth, who was secretary, I think, to Philip earl of Pembroke."

The truth probably is, that he was admitted into St. John's college as a sizar in 1588, at which time he was fourteen years old, (the usual time then of going to the University,) and after staying there a few weeks was obliged from poverty to return to his father's trade; with whom he might have been employed on the buildings in Lincoln's Inn in 1593, when he was nineteen. Not being able to endure his situation, he went, as he himself told Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, to the Low Countries, where he served a campaign, and distinguished himself in the field. On his return, perhaps in 1594, being now used to a life of adventure, he probably began his theatrical career, as a strolling player, and after having "rambled for some time by a play-waggon in the country," repaired to London, and endeavoured

a *very young* man. But no such difference of age subsisted between these two poets. If a man of

at the Curtain to obtain a livelihood as an actor, till, as Decker informs us, "not being able to set a *good face* upon't, he could not get a service among the mimicks."

Between that year and 1598, when *Every Man in his Humour* was acted, he probably produced those unsuccessful pieces which Wood mentions. It is remarkable that Meres in that year enumerates Jonson among the writers of *tragedy*, though no tragedy of his writing, of so early a date, is now extant: a fact which none of his biographers have noticed.

Some particulars relative to this poet, which I have lately learned, will serve to disprove another of the facts mentioned by Wood; namely, that "he succeeded Daniel as poet-laureat, [in October, 1619,] as Daniel did Spenser." I do not believe that any such office as poet-laureat existed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and consequently Spenser never could have possessed it; nor has any proof whatsoever been produced of Daniel's having ever enjoyed that office.

Spenser, we are told by Camden, died in great poverty in 1598, and such has been the prevailing opinion ever since; but a fact which I have lately discovered, and which has not been noticed by any writer of that great poet's life, renders Camden's assertion very disputable. Spenser, I find, in February, 1590-1, obtained from Queen Elizabeth an annuity or pension of fifty pounds a year, during his life; which, the value of money and the modes of life being jointly considered, may be estimated as equal to two hundred pounds a year at this day. We see, therefore, that the incense lavished on his parsimonious mistress in the *Faery Queen*, which was published in the preceding year,* did not pass unrewarded, as all our biographical writers have supposed. The first notice I obtained of this grant, was from a short abstract of it in the Signet-office, and with a view to ascertain whether he was described as poet-laureat. I afterwards examined the patent itself, (*Patent Roll*, 33 Eliz. P. 3.) but no office or official duty is there mentioned. After the usual and formal preamble, *pro diversis causis et considerationibus*, &c. the words are, "*damus et concedimus* dilecto subdito nostro, *Edmundo Spenser*," &c.

King James by letters patent dated February 3, 1615-16, granted to Ben Jonson an annuity or yearly pension of one hun-

* *The Faery Queen* was entered on the Stationers' books by W. Ponsonby, in December, 1589.

fifty-seven is to be accounted old, the man of forty-five is not young.

dred marks, during his life, "*in* consideration of the good and acceptable service heretofore done, and hereafter to be done, by the said B. J." Then, therefore, and not in 1619, undoubtedly it was that he was made poet-laureat, if ever he was so constituted: but not one word is there in the grant, which I examined in the chapel of the Rolls, touching that office: unless it may be supposed to be comprehended in the words which I have just quoted. On the 23d of April, 1630, King Charles by letters patent, reciting the former grant, and that it had been surrendered, was pleased, "in consideration (says the patent) of the good and acceptable service done unto us and our said father by the said B. J. and especially to encourage him to proceed in those services of his wit and pen, which we have enjoined unto him, and which we expect *from* him, to augment his annuity of one hundred marks, to one hundred pounds *per ann.* during his life, payable from Christmas, 1629, and the first payment to commence at Lady-day, 1630." Charles at the same time granted him a tierce of Canary Spanish wine yearly during his life, out of his majesty's cellars at Whitehall: of which there is no mention in the former grant. From hence, and from the present of one hundred pounds sent to Jonson by the King in 1629, we may see how extremely improbable the story is, which has been recorded, on I know not what authority, and which Dr. Smollet was idle enough to insert in his History: that Ben in that year, being reduced to great distress, and living in an obscure alley, petitioned his Majesty to assist him in his poverty and sickness; and on receiving ten guineas, said to the messenger who brought him the donation, "his majesty has sent me ten guineas, because I am poor and live in an alley: go and tell him, that his soul lives in an alley."

None of his biographers appear to have known, that Ben Jonson obtained from King James a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels. His Majesty by letters patent dated October 5, in the nineteenth year of his reign, (1621,) granted him, by the name and addition of "our beloved servant, Benjamin Jonson, *gentleman*," the said office, to be held and enjoyed by him and his assigns, during his life, from and after the death of Sir George Buck and Sir John Astley, or as soon as the office should become vacant by resignation, forfeiture, or surrender: but Jonson never derived any advantage from this grant, because Sir John Astley survived him. It should seem from a passage in the *Satiromastix* of his antagonist Decker,

The next suspicious circumstance in the letter which we are now examining, is, that in the pretended extracts from this old pamphlet most of the circumstances mentioned might have been collected by a modern writer from books of either those or subsequent times: and such *new* facts as are mentioned, can be proved to be fictions. Such of the pretended extracts as are true, are old; and such as are new, are false. Thus, to take the former class first, we are informed, (as from the pamphlet,) that our poet and Jonson were at variance; that old Ben took every means of depreciating the lowly Shakspeare; that he asserted our poet had little Latin and less Greek, and did not understand the dramatick laws;[4] that Jonson ridiculed

printed in 1602, that Ben had made some attempt to obtain a reversionary grant of this place before the death of Queen Elizabeth: for *Sir Vaughan* in that piece says to *Horace* [i. e. Jonson,] "I have some cossens-german at court shall beget you the *reversion* of the *Master of the King's Revels*, or else to be his Lord of Misrule nowe at Christmas."

It has been commonly understood, that on Ben Jonson's death in August, 1637, Sir William D'Avenant [then Mr. D'Avenant] was appointed poet-laureate in his room: but he at that time received no favour from the crown. Sixteen months afterwards, Dec. 13, 1638, in the 14th year of Charles the First, letters patent passed the great seal, granting, "in consideration of service heretofore done and hereafter to be done by William Davenant, gentleman," an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* to the said W. D. *during his majesty's pleasure.* By this patent, no Canary wine was granted; and no mention is made of the office of poet-laureate. It is at present conferred, not by letters patent, but by a warrant signed and sealed by the Lord Chamberlain, nominating A. B. to the office, with the accustomed fees thereunto bolonging.

[4] Which Ben claimed the merit of having first taught his contemporaries. See his Verses to his old servant Richard Brome, prefixed to *The Northern Lass*, which was first acted in July, 1629:

some of his pieces; and that this was a strong proof of his ingratitude: Shakspeare having first introduced him to the stage.—All these facts Mr. M. might have learned from Rowe's Life of Shakspeare, and Pope's Preface to his edition; from Dr. Birch's Life of Ben Jonson published in 1743; from Drummond of Hawthornden's Conversation with that poet; from the old play entitled *The Return from Parnassus*; from Fuller's *Worthies*, Winstanley, and Langbaine; from Jonson's own verses on Shakspeare prefixed to all the editions; from his prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*; from his *Bartholomew Fair* and his *Discoveries*; and from many other books. In Mr. Pope's preface was found that praise, that in our poet's plays every speech might be assigned to its proper speaker without the aid of marginal directions: an encomium which perhaps is too high, even when applied to Shakspeare; but which, when applied to Ford, (as it is in Mr. Macklin's *first* letter,) becomes ridiculous.

Let us now consider the *new* facts, which for the first time are given to the publick from this rare old tract. The first new fact stated is, that Shakspeare's fame, *after his death*, grew too great for Ben either to bear with or wound. Now this was so far from being the case, that it was at this particular period that Jonson's pieces, which were collected into a volume in 1616, appear to have been in most estimation; and from the time of Shakspeare's death to the year 1625, both Ben's

> "Now you are got into a nearer room
> "Of fellowship, professing my old arts,
> "And you do do them well, with good applause;
> "Which you have justly gained from the stage,
> "By observation of those *comick laws*
> "*Which I*, your master, *first did teach the age*."

fame, and that of Fletcher, seem to have been at their height. In this period Fletcher produced near thirty plays, which were acted with applause; and Jonson was during the whole of that time well received in the courts of James and Charles, for each of whom he wrote several Masques, which the wretched taste of that age very highly estimated; and was patronized and extravagantly extolled by the scholars of the time, as much superior to Shakspeare. In this period also he produced his *Devil's an Ass*, and his *Staple of News*, each of which had some share of success. In the year 1631, indeed he was extremely indigent and distressed, and had been so from the year 1625, when I think he was struck with the palsy; but in consequence of this indigence and distress he was not precisely at that period an object of jealousy to the partizans of Shakspeare.

Another and a very material false fact stated from this pamphlet is, that Jonson's *New Inn or Light Heart*, and Ford's *Melancholy Lover*, were produced for the first time on the same stage, in *the same week*: a fact concerning which the writer of the pamphlet, *if the pamphlet had any real existence*, could scarcely have been mistaken.

These two plays were certainly represented for the first time at *the same theatre*, namely, Blackfriars, as Mr. Macklin learned from their respective title-pages; but not in the same *week*, there being no less than *two months* interval between the production of the two pieces.

Ford's play was exhibited at the Blackfriars on the 24th of November, 1628, when it was licensed for the stage, as appears from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels to King Charles the First, a manuscript now before me, of

which a more particular account may be found in Vol. III. [*Historical Account of the English Stage*, &c.]; and Jonson's *New Inn* on the 19th of January in the following year, 1628-9. Very soon indeed after the ill success of Jonson's piece, the King's Company brought out at the same theatre a new play called *The Love-sick Maid, or the Honour of young Ladies*, which was licensed by Sir Henry Herbert on the 9th of February, 1628-9, and acted with extraordinary applause. This play, which was written by Jonson's own servant, Richard Brome, was so popular, that the managers of the King's Company, on the 10th of March, presented the Master of the Revels with the sum of two pounds, "on the good success of *The Honour of Ladies*;" the only instance I have met with of such a compliment being paid him. No mention whatsoever is made of *The Lover's Melancholy* having been attended with any extraordinary success, though Mr. M. from private motives chose to represent it as having been acted with uncommon applause.

We are next told, that Ben was so exasperated by the damnation of his piece, that he printed it with a very singular title-page, which is given; and that *immediately upon this* he wrote his celebrated Ode, "Come, leave the loathed stage," &c. It is not very clear what the letter-writer means by the words, *immediately upon this*. If he means that Jonson wrote his Ode immediately after his play was damned in 1629, the assertion is made at random; if he means that immediately after he had published his play he wrote his ode, the fact is not true. The ode is printed at the end of the play, which was published in April, 1631.

The next new fact found in this curious pamphlet is, that Ben Jonson, mortified by his own

defeat and the success which Ford's play obtained, wrote the following Epigram upon his successful competitor:

"PLAYWRIGHT, by chance, hearing some toys I had writ,
"Cry'd to my face, they were th'elixir of wit;
"And I must now believe him, for to-day
"Five of my jests, then stolne, pass'd him a play."

This epigram, I own, is so much in the manner of the time, and particularly of Ben Jonson, that for a long time I knew not how to question its authenticity. It is so strongly marked, that every poetical reader must immediately exclaim, *aut Erasmus, aut diabolus.* Nor indeed is it to be wondered at that it is much in Ben's manner; for,—not to keep the reader longer in suspence, it *was written* by him.—Well then, says the writer of the letter in question, here you have a strong confirmation of all the other facts which you affect to doubt, and every impartial judge must acquit me of having fabricated them. This, however, we shall find a *non sequitur:* for this very epigram, though written by Jonson, is as decisive a proof of imposition as any other which I have produced. The fact is, this epigram, addressed to PLAYWRIGHT, is found among Jonson's printed poems, as are two others addressed to the same person.[1] Mr. M. I

[1] See Jonson's Works, folio, 1616:

Epig. XLIX.

To PLAYWRIGHT.

"PLAYWRIGHT me reades, and still my verses damnes;
"He says, I want the tongue of epigrammes;
"I have no salt; no bawdrie he doth meane,
"For wittie, in his language, is obscene.

suppose, was possessed only of the modern edition of Jonson's Works printed in 8vo. in 1716, and, no dates being assigned to the *poems*, thought he might safely make free with this epigram, and affix the date of the year 1630, or 1631, to it; but unluckily it was published by old Ben himself fourteen or fifteen years before, in the first folio collection of his works in 1616, and consequently could not have any relation to a literary altercation between him and Ford at the time *The New Inn* and *The Lover's Melancholy* were brought on the scene. It appears from Ben Jonson's Dedication of his Epigrams to Lord Pembroke, that most of them, though published in 1616, were written some years before;[b] the epigram in question, therefore, may be referred to a still earlier period than the time of its publication.

"PLAYWRIGHT, I loath to have thy manners knowne
"In my chaste booke: professe them in thine owne."

Epig. LXVIII.

On PLAYWRIGHT.

"PLAYWRIGHT, convict of publick wrongs to men,
"Takes private beatings, and begins againe.
"Two kindes of valour he doth shew at ones,
"Active in his braine, and passive in his bones."

The person aimed at, under the name of *Playwright*, was probably Decker.

[b] "I here offer to your lordship the *ripest* of my studies, my epigrammes, which though they carry danger in the sound, do not therefore seek your shelter. For *when I made them*, I had nothing in my conscience, to expressing of which I did need a cypher. But if I be falne into *these times*, wherein, for the likeness of vice," &c.

On one of the lines in this epigram, as exhibited by Mr. Macklin,

"Five of my jests, then stolne, pass'd him a play."

we find the following note:—"Alluding to a character in *The Ladies' Trial*, which Ben says Ford stole from him." If the writer of this letter had said, "Alluding to a character in *The Ladies' Trial*, which Ford stole from Ben Jonson," we might suppose him only mistaken; and this anachronism (supposing that the epigram had been written in 1631) might not affect the present question. But we are told, "*Ben* says so." He certainly has not said so in his works, and therefore the letter-writer must mean, that it is asserted in the pamphlet from which he pretended to quote, that Ben had said so. But Ben could not possibly have said so, even if he had written this epigram at the time to which it has been falsely ascribed; for this plain reason, that *The Ladies' Trial* was not produced till several years afterwards. It was first printed in 1639, two years after Ben Jonson's death, and does not appear to have been licensed by Sir Henry Herbert before that time.[7] The origin of this note, by which *confusion is worse confounded*, was probably this: Langbaine, under the article, *Fletcher*, mentions that a scene in his *Love's Pilgrimage* was *stollen* from the very play of which we have been speaking; Jonson's *New Inn*. This scene Fletcher himself could not have stollen from

[7] One of the leaves of Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, which was missing, having been recovered since this page was printed, I find that *The Ladies' Trial* was performed for the first time at the Cockpit theatre in May, 1638, on the 3d of which month it was licensed by the Master of the Revels.

The New Inn, for he was dead some years before that play appeared; but Shirley, who had the revisal of some of those pieces which were left imperfect by Fletcher, (as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book,[8]) finding *The New Inn* unsuccessful, took the liberty to borrow a scene from it, which he inserted in *Love's Pilgrimage*, when that play was revived, or as Sir Henry Herbert calls it, *renewed*, in 1635.[9] Mr. M. had

[8] In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book is the following entry: "For a play of Fletcher's, *corrected by Shirley*, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11th of May, 1633,—£.2 0 0.

[9] "Received of Blagrove from the King's Company, for the *renewing* of *Love's Pilgrimage*, the 16th of September, 1635, —£.1 0 0." *Ibidem.*

The addition of a new scene, and sometimes an entire act, to an old play, appears from the following entries in the same book to have been common:

"For the adding of a scene to *The Virgin Martyr*, this 7th July, 1624,—£.0 10 0."

"For allowing of a new act in an ould play, this 13th May, 1623,—£.0 10 0."

"For allowing of an ould play, new written or forbisht by Mr. Biston, the 12th of January, 1631,—£.1 0 0."

"An ould play, with some new scenes, *Doctor Lambe and the Witches*, to Salisbury Courte, the 16th August, 1634,—£.1 0 0."

"Received of ould Cartwright for allowing the [Fortune] company to add scenes to an ould play, and to give it out for a new one, this 12th of May, 1636,—£1. 0 0."

This practice prevailed in Shakspeare's time. "The players," says Lupton, in his *London and the Country carbonadoed and quartered*, 8vo. 1602, "are as crafty with an old play, as bauds with old faces: the one puts on a new fresh colour, the other a new face and name."

If the Office-books of Edmund Tilney, Esq. and Sir George Buck, who were Masters of the Revels during the greater part of the reign of King James the First, shall ever be discovered, I have no doubt that the *Vision*, *Masque*, and *Prophecy*, in the fifth Act of *Cymbeline*, will be found to have been interpolated by the players after our poet's death.

probably some imperfect recolletion of what he had read in Langbaine, and found it convenient to substitute Ford's play for that of Fletcher.

We are next told, that this pamphlet asserts that Ben Jonson had given out that *The Lover's Melancholy* was not written by Ford, but purloined from Shakspeare's papers, of which Ford, in conjunction with Heminge and Condell, is said to have had the revisal, when the first folio edition of our poet's works was published in 1623.

It should not be forgotten, that the writer of this letter had asserted in a former letter, that it appears from *several of Ford's Sonnets and Verses* that he lived in the strictest intimacy with Shakspeare, to the time of his death: and I may confidently add, that there is not the smallest ground for the assertion, no such sonnets or verses being extant. We need not, therefore, hesitate to pronounce the present assertion to be equally unfounded as the former.

After what has been already stated, it would be an idle waste of time to enter into any long disquisition on this fiction. It was evidently thrown out to excite the expectation of the town with respect to the piece itself on the night of performance. The old plays of the minor poets of the last age being in 1748 little known or attended to, those who were curious could not easily satisfy themselves concerning the merit or demerit of *The Lover's Melancholy* by *reading* it, (it not being republished in Dodsley's Collection,) and therefore would naturally resort to the theatre to examine whether there was any ground for such an assertion: the precise end which the letter-writer had in view. When he talked of Shakspeare's *papers*, he was probably thinking of what Heminge and Condell

have said in their preface,—"we have scarce received from him a blot in *his papers*." But by *his papers* they meant nothing more than the old copies of his plays which had lain long in their house, from which they printed part of their edition. Whatever other papers our poet left, without doubt devolved to his family at Stratford.

The four encomiastick lines signed "Thomas May," and the elegant verses ascribed to Endymion Porter, now alone remain to be considered.

Endymion Porter, whom Sir William D'Avenant, Shakspeare's supposed son, calls "lord of his muse and heart," being mentioned by Mr. Rowe in his Life of Shakspeare, as a great admirer of our poet, his name naturally presented itself to the writer of this letter, as a proper one to be subscribed to an eulogy on him and Ford; and he found, or might have found, in Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, that May lived in the strictest intimacy with Endymion Porter, to whom he has dedicated his *Antigone*, published in 1631; a play which probably, when this letter was written, was in Mr. Macklin's possession. Thomas Randolph and Thomas Carew having each of them written verses to Jonson after the publication of the celebrated ode annexed to his unfortunate *New Inn*, requesting him not to leave the stage, as the letter-writer might also have learned from Langbaine, who has given Randolph's Ode at length, he naturally would read over their lines; and Randolph having written "*A gratulatory Poem to Ben Jonson, for his adopting of him to be his Son*," in which we find the following hyperbolical couplet,

"But if heaven take thee, envying us thy lyre,
"'Tis to pen anthems for an angel's quire;"

he is not improperly styled by the letter-writer, "Jonson's ZANY."[1]

The four lines to which May's name is affixed, are inscribed, "To *my worthy friend* John Ford;" and it is observable that a copy of verses written by William Singleton, and prefixed to *The Lover's Melancholy*, are also inscribed, "*To my worthy friend*, the author, Master *John Ford*." But why, we shall be told, might not May, as well as Mr. Singleton, address Ford as his *worthy friend?* Be it so then; but unluckily, May, precisely when he is supposed to have made this panegyrick upon Ford, and to have informed the publick, that, even supposing *The Lover's Melancholy* was from Shakspeare's

> "———— *treasury* reft,
> "That *plunderer Ben* ne'er made so *rich a theft*;"

unluckily, I say, at this very time, May was living in the strictest friendship with Jonson; for to May's translation of Lucan, *published in* 1630, is prefixed a commendatory poem by Jonson,—addressed "To his *chosen friend*, the learned translator of Lucan, *Thomas May*, Esquire," and subscribed, "*Your true friend in judgment and choise*, Benjamin Jonson."

[1] Randolph's attachment to Ben Jonson was also noticed in the letter printed in the preceding month, in *The General Advertiser*, (the Theatrical Gazette of that time,) by way of prelude to Mr. Ryan's benefit. "He was, (says the writer,) a man of pregnant wit, gay humour, and of excellent learning; which gained him the esteem of the town, and *particularly recommended him to Ben Jonson*, who adopted him *one of his sons*, and held him in equal esteem with the ingenious Mr. Cartwright, another of the laureat's sons."

The verses subscribed, *Thomas May*, are as follows:

" 'Tis said, from Shakspeare's *mine* your play you drew;
" What need, when Shakspeare still survives in you?
" But grant it were from his *vast treasury* reft,
" That *plunderer* Ben ne'er made so *rich a theft*."[a]

I have already observed, that, Randolph having written a reply to Jonson's ode, the writer of this letter would naturally look into his works. In a poem *addressed to Ben Jonson*, speaking of the works of Aristotle, (the writer by the way, to whom that sentence of Greek which is found in the title-page of the present edition was originally applied,) he has these lines:

" ———— I could sit
" Under a willow covert, and repeat
" Those deep and learned lays, on every part
" Grounded in judgment, subtilty, and art,
" That the great tutor to the greatest king,
" The shepherd of Stagira us'd to sing;
" The shepherd of Stagira, *that unfolds*
" *All nature's closet*, shews what e'er it holds,
" The matter, form, sense, motion, place, and measure,
" Of every thing contain'd in her *vast treasure*."

As Shakspeare's "*vast treasury*" may have been borrowed from this writer, so the "*rich thefts* of

[a] *That plunderer Ben ne'er made so rich a theft.*] This thought appears to have been adopted from the words in which Virgil is said to have replied to one who charged him with borrowing from Homer:

" Cur non illi quoque eadem furta tentarunt?"

Could the illiterate Macklin, therefore, be suspected as author of the verses imputed to him by Mr. Malone? STEEVENS.

that *plunderer* Ben" might have been suggested to Mr. M. by the following lines addressed by Thomas Carew " to Ben Jonson, upon occasion of his ode of defiance annext to his play of the *New Inn:*"

" Let them the dear expence of oil upbraid,
" Suck'd by thy watchful lamp, that hath betray'd
" To *theft* the blood of martyr'd authors, spilt
" Into thy ink, whilst thou grow'st pale with guilt.
" Repine not at the taper's thrifty waste,
" That sleeks thy terser poems; nor is haste
" Praise, but excuse; and if thou overcome
" A knotty writer, bring the *booty* home;
" Nor think it *theft*, if the *rich* spoils so torn
" From conquer'd authors, be as trophies worn."

I have traced the marked expressions in this tetrastick to Randolph and Carew; they might, however, have been suggested by a book still more likely to have been consulted by the writer of it, Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatick Poets;* and particularly by that part of his work in which he speaks of *Ben Jonson's* literary *thefts*, on which I have this moment happened to cast my eye.

" To come lastly to *Ben Jonson*, who, as Mr. Dryden affirms, has borrowed more from the ancients than any; I crave leave to say in his behalf, that our late laureat has far out-done him in *thefts*. —When Mr. Jonson borrowed, 'twas from the *treasury* of the Ancients, which is so far from any diminution of his worth, that I think it is to his honour, at least-wise I am sure he is justified by his son Cartwright, in the following lines:

'What though thy searching Muse did rake the dust
'Oft time, and purge old metals from their rust?
'Is it no labour, no art, think they, to
'Snatch shipwrecks from the deep, as divers do;
'And rescue jewels from the covetous sand,
'Making the seas hid *wealth* adorn the land?
'What though thy culling Muse did *rob* the store
'Of Greek and Latin gardens, to bring o'er
'Plants to thy native soil? their virtues were
'Improv'd far more by being planted here.—
'*Thefts* thus become just works; they and their grace
'Are wholly thine: thus doth the stamp and face
'Make that the king's that's ravish'd from the *mine*;
'In others then 'tis ore, in thee, 'tis coin."

"On the contrary, though Mr. Dryden has likewise borrowed from the Greek and Latin poets,—which I purposely omit to tax him with, as thinking what he has taken to be lawful prize, yet I can not but observe withal, that he has *plunder'd* the chief Italian, Spanish, and French wits for forage, notwithstanding his pretended contempt of them; and not only so, but even his own countrymen have been forced to pay him tribute, or, to say better, have not been exempt from being *pillaged*."[2]

Here we have at once—the *mine*, the *treasury*, the *plunderer*, and the *rich thefts*, of this modern-antique composition.[3]

[2] *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, 8vo. 1691, pp. 145, 148, 149.

[3] Mr. Macklin tells us, that the pamphlet from which he pretends to quote, mentions, that among other depreciating language Jonson had said of Shakspeare, that "the man had imagination and wit none could deny, but that they were ever guided by true judgment in the *rules* and conduct of a piece, none could with justice assert, both being ever servile to *raise the laughter of fools* and *the wonder of the ignorant*."

The last copy of verses, ascribed to Endymion Porter, are uncommonly elegant, and perhaps one

"Being guided by judgment in the conduct of a piece," is perfectly intelligible; but what are we to understand by *being guided by judgment in the* rules *of a piece?* However, every part of this sentence also may be traced to its source. Mr. Pope has said in his preface, that "not only the common audience had no notion of the *rules* of writing, but few of the better sort piqued themselves upon any great degree of knowledge or nicety that way, till Ben Jonson getting possession of the stage, brought critical learning into vogue:" and Jonson himself, in his *Discoveries*, speaking of Shakspeare, says, "his *wit* was in his power, would the *rule* of it had been so."

In Mr. Pope's Preface we are told, that "in tragedy nothing was so sure to *surprise*, and create *admiration*, as the most strange, improbable, and consequently most unnatural, incidents and events.—In comedy, nothing was so sure to please, as mean buffoonery, vile ribaldry, and unmannerly jests of *fools* and clowns."

Prefixed to Randolph's Works is a panegyrick written by Mr. Richard West, from whose poem two lines are quoted by Langbaine, which were also inserted in *The General Advertiser* of the 5th of March, 1748, in the encomium on Randolph's plays.

In Mr. West's Verses, speaking of ordinary dramatick poets, he says,—

"For humours to lie lieger, they are seen
"Oft in a tavern or a bowling green.
"They do observe each place and company,
"As strictly as a traveller or spy;—
"And sit with patience an hour by the heels,
"To learn the nonsense of the constables;
"*Such jig-like flim-flams being got, to make*
"*The rabble laugh*, and nut-cracking forsake."

Randolph is then described, and among other high praises, we are told.—

"There's none need fear to surfeit with his phrase;
"He has no giant raptures, to *amaze*
"And torture *weak capacities with wonder.*"

We have already seen that Mr. Macklin had been just perusing

of the best invented fictions that can be pointed out."—"These *letter-tyrant* elves" is much in the manner of the time, as is "*their pedant selves*," in a subsequent line. But how difficult is it to assume the manner or language of a former age, without occasionally lapsing into those of the present! The phrases, "*upon the whole*," and *from college*,—

> "Indeed, says Tom, *upon the whole*, &c.
> "But Ben and Tom *from college*—"

have a very modern sound, and are not, I believe, used by any of our old English writers.—I must also observe that Mr. M. found his *after-times* in the old panegyrick on Ford, which he inserted in his first letter, and *Avon's swan* in Ben Jonson's Verses on Shakspeare, prefixed to all the editions of his plays; and that the extravagant and unfounded praise here given to Ford, who, like our great poet, is said to have been *sent from heaven*, and the insinuation that the *Lover's Melancholy* was "*Shakspeare's every word*," were evidently calculated for the temporary purpose of aiding a benefit, and putting money into the purse of the writer.

While, however, we transfer these elegant lines from Endymion Porter to Mr. Macklin, let us

Ben Jonson's Epigrams. In his second Epigram, which is addressed to his book, are these lines:

> "—— by thy wiser temper let men know,
> "Thou art not covetous of least self-fame,
> "Made from the hazard of another's shame:
> "Much less, with lewd, prophane, and beastly phrase,
> "*To catch the world's loose laughter, or vaine gaze.*"

not forget that they exhibit no common specimen of an easy versification and a good taste, and that they add a new wreath to the poetical crown of this veteran comedian.

I have only to add, that John Ford and Thomas May were so far from being at variance with Old Ben, that in *Jonsonius Virbius*, a collection of poems on the death of Ben Jonson, published in 1638, about six months after his death, there is an encomiastick poem by *John Ford;* and in this volume is also found a panegyrick by Ford's friend, George Donne, and another by *Thomas May*, who styles Ben "the best of our English poets." On this, however, I lay no great stress, because the same collection exhibits a poem by Jonson's old antagonist, Owen Feltham: but if, after all that has been stated, the smallest doubt could remain concerning the subject of our present disquisition, I might observe, that Ford appears not only to have lived on amicable terms with Ben Jonson himself, (at least we have no proof to the contrary,) but with his servant, Richard Brome; to whose play entitled *The Northern Lass*, which was acted by the King's Company on the 29th of July, 1629, the very year of the publication of *The Lover's Melancholy*, and of the first exhibition of *The New Inn*, is prefixed an high panegyrick by "the author's *very friend*, *John Ford.*"

Let the present detection be a lesson to mankind in matters of greater moment, and teach those whom higher considerations do not deter from invading the rights or property of others by any kind of fiction, to abstain from such an attempt, from the *inefficacy* and *folly* of it; for the most plausible

and best fabricated tale, if properly examined, will crumble to pieces, like "the labour'd mole," loosened from its foundation by the continued force of the ocean; while simple and honest truth, firm and self-dependant, will ever maintain its ground against all assailants,—

"As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

MALONE.

"AND flies the javelin swifter to its mark,
"Launch'd from the vigour of a Roman arm?"[4]

If so, in compliance with example, and supposing Mr. Malone's motto to point at Mr. Macklin, I shall venture a reply in his name, and from Virgil too:—

Stat gravis Entellus, nisuque immotus eodem.

Though the Letter [See p. 188, &c. n. 1.] which gave rise to the preceding strictures (as Dr. Farmer long ago remarked) may not be entitled to

[4] Addison's *Cato.*

implicit confidence, I am unwilling to regard this publication as a confirmed forgery by Mr. Macklin. In my opinion, he could as readily have supplied a deficient chorus in a Greek tragedy, as the poem ascribed to Endymion Porter. A vein of broad humour, and a rugged force of style, distinguish the performances of our truly respectable dramatick veteran; but where, among all his numerous works, shall we find such ease and elegance as decorate the stanzas in commendation of Ford?

It would be difficult to account for Mr. Macklin's conception of the species of fraud so strenuously imputed to him. Unacquainted with ancient and licensed polemick weapons, he would scarce have invented new and unfair ones. Before the year 1748 no successful impositions, whether grave or ludicrous, had led the way to such an attempt. No *Lauder*, by a kindred process, had questioned the originality of *Milton;* no *Rowleian* epicks, *Hardicnutian* tablets,[5] or Shakspearian forgeries, had been applied as touchstones to antiquarian sagacity. If Mr. Macklin was really the fabricator of these disputed authorities, he must be considered as the parent of literary impostures in England. He must have planned his work without the advantage of a model; and, respecting the poetry of Endymion Porter, must be allowed to have executed a task of elegance, without ostensible requisites for his undertaking.—When I communicated these stanzas to Dr. Johnson, he read them with indications of pleasure, and instantly exclaimed—" The lines,

[5] See the *Gentleman's* and *European Magazine* for March and April, 1790.

sir, are evidently the product of a man of fashion.[6] Were our friend Beauclerk[7] engaged to furnish a poetick trifle, he would write just such verses as these."

That no pamphlet, however, with the title already mentioned by Mr. Malone, has ever appeared, is too much to be granted without some degree of hesitation. Must no ancient satirical and poetical pieces be allowed to exist, except such as he and I have unkennelled by industry or advertisement? Till the earliest *Taming of a Shrew* was met with, Mr. Pope's quotations from it were suspected; for some of the lines, as printed by him, displayed more than a single deviation from the established phraseology of their age; and yet, on the whole, we are bound to acknowledge the genuineness of his extracts from the rude original of Shakspeare's comedy.

The rarity of particular books as well as pamphlets, has been occasioned by obvious circumstances. Sometimes a fire has almost destroyed an unpublished work. At other times, a threat has suppressed an invective, or a bribe has stifled an accusation. It were no task of difficulty to enumerate tracts, of each of which but a single copy has been discovered.

I readily allow, and in their utmost extent, such departures from the acknowledged truth of dramatick history, as are pointed out by Mr. Malone with his accustomed accuracy and precision. But

[6] Such undoubtedly was the character of Endymion Porter, who was a Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber.

[7] The late Honourable Topham Beauclerk.

he has not proved[s] that those very defects might not have originated from the pamphlet supposed to have furnished Mr. Macklin with materials for his letter. Does it follow that the pamphleteer himself must have been qualified for his task? Might he not rather have been some inaccurate hireling, who tacked together, for purposes now unknown, the disjointed and fallacious scraps of literary intelligence which every theatre usually supplies?

Let us likewise inquire, whether such extracts from an antiquated pamphlet as are hastily made by a person unskilled in argument and composition, may not exhibit blunders and contradictions which had no place in the work from whence his *notitiæ* were derived. By injudicious retrenchments, there-

[s] I know not from what cause it has arisen, but I think I have observed a more than common degree of inaccuracy in facts and dates relative to the stage, as often as they become objects for the memory to exercise itself upon. No conclusive arguments, I am sure, can be drawn from the falsehoods or mistakes in the piece under consideration, to prove the non-existence of it. Immediately on the death of Mr. Quin in 1766, a pamphlet was published professing to be an account of his Life, in which the fact of his having killed a brother actor was related; but so related, that no one circumstance belonging to it could be depended on, except that a man was killed. Neither the time when the accident happened, the place where, the cause of the quarrel, the progress of it, or even the name or identity of the person, were stated agreeable to truth; and all these fables were imposed on the publick at a time when many people were living, who could have contradicted them from their own personal knowledge. To apply this to the present case: suppose at the distance of more than a century, one single copy only of this Life (no improbable supposition) should remain, and after being quoted should be lost; the facts which it contains might be demonstrated to be untrue, but the non-existence of the work referred to, surely would not thereby be established.

REED.

fore, of the intelligence Mr. Macklin adopted, and a heterogeneous mixture of his own conceptions, he may have perplexed his narrative so effectually, that, without reference to his original document, the truths in question must escape the reach of human inquiry:

> "———————— the dram of base
> "Doth all the noble substance often dout."

In justice to Mr. Macklin and myself, I must add, that in 1777, when he first related the history of his lost pamphlet, he subjoined the following remarkable circumstance, which could not well have been invented on a sudden for the purposes of deceit.—"The want of this publication (says he) I do not so much lament, as the loss of a speech on the Habeas Corpus by Sir J. Elliot, which, (with several other tracts printed about the same time,) was in the same quarto volume."—Every collector of fugitive publications must know how usual it is for coeval articles, however miscellaneous, to be bound together. This circumstance, in my judgment, adds no small probability to the narrative in which Mr. Macklin still persists; for the speech to which he alluded must have been published in or about the very year that produced "Old Ben's Light Heart" &c. provided a pamphlet bearing that title was ever issued from the press.

It has been by no means my desire to controvert the sentiments of Mr. Malone, any further than was needful toward my own apology as the first republisher of Mr. Macklin's production. Mr. Malone's ingenuity in support of his position,

demands an acknowledgement which is cheerfully bestowed; and yet, considering the labour he has expended on so slight a subject, I cannot help comparing him to one who brings a sledge hammer for the demolition of a house of cards.

STEEVENS.

END OF VOL. II.

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